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12 March 1985

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

EXTENSIVE HARBOR AID REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
4 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by W. An.: "Harbor Projects in East African Countries; Western Nations, Oil-Producing States, and International Organizations Are Providing Financial Assistance"]

[Text] A number of projects for improving harbor infrastructure in the East African region have been planned, started, or already completed (refer also to the report on the same topic in our issue of 21 December 1982). Now as before, efforts undertaken by nearly all East African coastal states to improve loading and unloading operations in their ports are receiving the support of international organizations (World Bank Group, European Development Fund), rich oil-producing Arab states, and individual industrial nations, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

In mid-September 1984, the United States granted Somalia 42 million dollars in financial assistance for modernizing the port at Kisimayu, slated to begin in March 1985. The project, which will require a total investment of 45.2 million dollars, is slated for completion in June 1987. The expected increase in shipping capacity will be of benefit primarily to economic development in the Juba Valley in the southern part of the country. In addition, the port of Berbera on the Gulf of Aden in northern Somalia is undergoing expansion with American aid, and from there, shipments of cattle in particular will be made to Saudi Arabia. The existing pier will be lengthened by 330 meters, thus making a doubling in shipping capacity possible. The American government approved capital assistance amounting to 35 million dollars for this project and for expansion at the Berbera airport.

In Sudan, work started at the end of 1982 on the second expansion stage for the harbor at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, a project requiring investments estimated at 29.3 million dollars. The World Bank Group has promised to provide about 25 million dollars' worth of financial assistance for this project, for completion of which two British and one Yugoslavian firm have been awarded contracts. The project includes construction of a pier for roll-on/roll-off shipments, a container pier, and new docks, as well as improvements in installations for loading and unloading wheat, establishment of an independent power supply, and construction of an administration building for the port authority.

In Kenya, a recently completed study financed by the United States recommends a program of development for the port of Mombasa in Dongo Kundu, where the possibility also exists of setting up a free trade zone. The project includes construction of new port facilities, establishment of ground transportation links with the free trade zone, and building of an industrial park. Total investments for this project are set at 104 million dollars. In the spring of 1983, equipment valued at 300 million Kenyan shillings (1 Kenyan shilling = about DM 0.19) arrived from France for modernizing the port of Mombasa, including gantry cranes for handling container traffic. The shipment was financed by French credit assistance. Moreover, the port at Mombasa is to receive a deeper, expanded approach channel (about 8 kilometers in length), which will be brought to a depth of 45 feet and a width of 1,000 feet. In spring, 1982, an American dredging vessel began the corresponding operations, which are expected to cost 504 million Kenyan shillings.

In December 1984, the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank Group awarded Tanzania a 27 million dollar credit for modernizing the harbor at Dar es Salaam. The project's sponsor is the state-run Tanzania Harbours Authority (THA), Dar es Salaam, which has also proposed modernizing the smaller harbors of Tanga, Mafia, Kilwa, and Lindi. As early as spring, 1984, bidding took place for modernization of the port of Dar es Salaam with a total projected investment of 79 million dollars and including, among others, the conversion of docks 10 and 11 into a container terminal. The British firm of Bertlin & Partners, Redhill (Surrey), is involved in this project as a consultant. With the help of the European Development Fund, the inland port of Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika will also be expanded.

In November 1984, the Federal Republic of Germany granted Mozambique DM 23.6 million in capital assistance for installing 69 harbor cranes at the ports of Maputo, Beira, and Nacala and for restoring the rail classification yard in Maputo to operating condition. The total cost is anticipated to equal DM 28 million with a foreign exchange share of DM 23.6 million, which will be covered by the German loan. The harbor cranes were delivered and installed some time ago by the firms MAN Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nurnberg AG, Augsburg, and Mannesmann Demag AG, Duisburg.

In addition, the capacity of the port of Maputo will be increased to an annual shipping capacity of 10 million tons with help from the Republic of South Africa. In summer, 1983, Finland granted a loan of 4.4 million dollars for building a container terminal at the port of Nacala. Norway provided a credit of 4 million dollars in early 1984, which, among other things, will be used for increasing productivity at the port of Maputo. Construction of a new deep sea port for the processing and shipment of natural gas is being considered in Mozambique. Significant natural gas reserves are awaiting exploitation near Pande and Timane. Inhassoro in northern Vilanculos will presumably be considered as a location for the port.

Within the general framework of its project-related material assistance effort, the Federal Republic of Germany in 1981 granted the island nation of Madagascar a loan amounting to DM 5 million for financing the purchase of tug-boats, loading and unloading equipment, and consulting services. The contract

for delivery of the tugboats went to the French firm of Trumel, Nancy, in the spring of 1983, while the contract for the loading and unloading equipment went to the Japanese firm of C. Itoh and Co, Ltd, Tokyo, and for the consulting services to the Deutsche Eisenbahn Consulting GmbH (DEC) in Frankfurt.

On the main island of Mahe in the island nation of the Seychelles, plans exist for expanding and modernizing the industrial harbor, developing a modern fishing port, and building a repair dock together with its auxiliary facilities. The total cost of this project was estimated at 25 million dollars. The World Bank evaluated the plan in March 1984 and will presumably participate in financing to the extent of 6 million dollars. It is anticipated that Arab developmental institutions, the African Development Bank, Abidjan (Ivory Coast), and individual industrial nations will also become involved. Work on the project is slated to begin in 1985.

At the end of April 1982, the Banque Arabe pour le Developpement Economique en Afrique (BADEA), Khartoum (Sudan), granted a credit of 8 million dollars to the island nation of the Comoro for expanding the port of Mutsamudu on the island of Anjouan. In the case of this project, the total investment runs to about 47 million dollars. Arab developmental institutions in particular have taken upon themselves financing equal to 36 million dollars. They include the Islamic Development Bank, Jidda (Saudi Arabia), the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED), Kuwait, and the [line of text appears to be missing], Abu Dhabi. Financial resources are also coming from the OPEC Fund for International Development, Vienna, and from the African Development Fund, Abidjan (Ivory Coast). In the future, it will be possible for ships having a draft of up to 10.5 meters to call upon Mutsamudu, the island nation's chief port. Moreover, the pier will be lengthened from 130 to 250 meters and widened to 33.5 meters and the handling of cargo will be modernized.

The HPC Hamburg Port Consulting GmbH, Hamburg, a subsidiary of the Hamburger Hafen- und Lagerhaus-AG, and Gitec Consult GmbH, Duesseldorf, were recently commissioned by the government of Malawi and the World Bank to prepare an integrated transportation study regarding the optimal utilization of the land route from the port of Dar es Salaam to Blantyre in southern Malawi. The assignment is to be completed within a time period of 14 months.

12412

CSO: 3420/27

ANGOLA

UNITA COMMUNIQUE ON 28 JANUARY KALOMBOLOKA ATTACK

MB051700 (Clandestine) KUP in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa
1200 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Communique issued by the office of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] in Jamba on 30 January]

[Text] Free Land of Angola, 5 Feb (KUP)--1. In the last 15 days, our forces have intensified military and political activity with the aim of suffocating Luanda.

a) As part of this strategy, at 0500 on 28 January 1985, FALA forces attacked the town of Kalomboloka, the hometown of the late MPLA president, Dr Agostinho Neto, 70 km south of Luanda.

b) The 3d battalion of the 84th Brigade, which was stationed at Kalomboloka, comprised 420 troops of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]. During the attack, our forces killed 170 FAPLA elements and destroyed seven Ural and Star trucks, as well as the Angolan railroad station and two high-voltage transformers. In addition, a total of four 82-mm mortars and 100 rifles were captured.

c) Efforts by the 84th and 44th brigades to protect the power line along the Kambambe/Luanda road have not yielded good results.

2. Through lies, disinformation and displays, the MPLA is desperately trying to block UNITA's advance, discourage the people, and demoralize our troops.

a) There was no massacre of the civilian population in Kalomboloka. The show staged by the MPLA is aimed at covering up the defeat suffered by the 3d FAPLA Battalion of the 84th Brigade while the MPLA was intoxicating the Luanda residents with the so-called FAPLA victories over FALA.

b) The MPLA never admitted that there was a UNITA attack on FAPLA or Cuban forces. On the MPLA side nobody died except the elderly, women, and children.

c) The MPLA policy at home and abroad is full of lies, but in the coming months the truth will reveal itself.

d) In Kalomboloka, the home town of late MPLA President Dr Agostinho Neto, UNITA suffered 5 dead, 11 wounded, and 3 missing against 170 FAPLA troops killed.

Dawn of Africa. Dawn of Angola. Dawn of UNITA.
The struggle triumphs.
United we shall win.

[Signed] Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, FALA president and commander in chief.

CSO: 3442/173

ANGOLA

DOS SANTOS RETURNS FROM SAO TOME SUMMIT

MB180708 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the republic, yesterday returned from Sao Tome and Principe, where he attended the proceedings of the 5th summit of the heads of state of the Portuguese-speaking African countries.

During the proceedings the heads of state of the Portuguese-speaking African countries recalled that this year the People's Republic of Angola will host the 6th summit.

The communique issued at the end of the summit stresses the need for an increase in trade and the rational use of transportation among the five countries. The final communique also stresses the need for continued efforts in the area of cadre training, a rational utilization of the most readily available resources in these countries, as well as the implementation of activities aimed at creating joint centers for the training of cadres.

Due to the serious problems caused by natural disasters, the heads of state at the Sao Tome summit appealed to the international community to urgently intensify its massive aid to the five Portuguese-speaking African countries.

The heads of state of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe expressed profound concern with the worsening of conflicts, tensions, and the arms' race, which threatens peace and security in the world, and are still based on the existence of colonialism, imperialism, apartheid, and Zionism.

The five heads of state spoke about the prevailing situation in Chad, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Central America, and East Timor. They condemned the Indonesian regime which is carrying out a war of genocide against the Timorese people.

The summit paid special attention to the situation in Southern Africa which, due to its importance, was the focus of document called the Sao Tome Declaration.

In this declaration, Presidents Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Samora Machel, Aristides Pereira, Joao Bernardo Vieira, and Manuel Pinto da Costa expressed solidarity with Angola and Mozambique's peace initiatives for Southern Africa, and condemned racist South Africa's continued violations of its compromises with Mozambique and Angola.

On this topic, the five heads of state exposed the involvement and connivance of some political, economic, financial, and military Portuguese circles in their aggressions against Angola and Mozambique, which hinder the existing friendship and cooperation.

CSO: 3442/178

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

KILLING OF 35 UNITA MEMBERS--Benguela (Angola), 6 Feb (EFE)--Fifty-five members of the guerrilla antigovernment "National Union for the Total Independence of Angola" (UNITA) were killed by regular troops in municipalities near the city of Benguela. The announcement, made by the ANGOP news agency citing official sources, does not specify when the actions in which the killings took place occurred. "ANGOP also reported" that another 18 members of UNITA surrendered voluntarily to Benguela authorities. [Text] [Madrid EFE in Spanish 1107 GMT 6 Feb 85]

55 UNITA SOLDIERS KILLED--The national defense and security forces killed 55 UNITA bandits and captured two others in recent operations carried out in the 8th military region, according to a report by ANGOP. During the operations, which were carried out in Balombo, Bocoio, Chongoroi and Cubal, 541 huts sheltering the counterrevolutionaries were destroyed. Taking advantage of the Angolan forces operations against the bandits, 230 members of the public escaped the claws of their captors and surrendered to the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 6 Feb 85]

DELEGATION ON VISIT TO ZAIRE--Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, this morning left for the Republic of Zaire for a 4-day official and friendly visit at the invitation of President Mobutu Sese Seko. Included in the presidential delegation are Comrades Dino Matross, a member of the MPLA-Labor Party Political Bureau and minister of state security; Bernardo de Sousa, a member of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee and minister of transport and communications; Emilio Guerra, the minister of fisheries; Ferreira Neto, the minister of health; Venancio de Moura, the deputy minister of external relations; and Carlos Fernandes, the state secretary for cooperation. Members of the MPLA-Labor Party and government, as well as of the mass organizations and the diplomatic corps accredited to Angola, were present at 4 February International Airport to see off the president. It is worth recalling that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visited Kinshasa last December, where he attended the installation ceremony of Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko to the post of chairman of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the Republic of Zaire. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 6 Feb 85]

BENIN

SOVIET JOURNALIST ARRIVES FOR VISIT

AB061108 Cotonou Domestic Service in French 1930 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] Strengthening the bonds of cooperation and friendship between the Union of Soviet Journalists and the Beninese Journalists Association [AJB]--it is within this context that one can place the purpose of the visit to Benin of Comrade (Emilianov Vasiliy), the editor in chief of the SOVETSKAYA LITVA newspaper and a member of the Union of Soviet Journalists. Comrade (Emilianov) came to Cotonou at the invitation of the AJB, some members of which visited Moscow in 1981. Upon his arrival in Cotonou this morning, Comrade (Emilianov Vasiliy) willingly answered questions put to him by the press. First, the guest of the Beninese press defined the purpose of his visit to Benin to (Simie Laite).

[Begin (Emilianov) recording in Russian fading into French translation] In the first place, I would like to thank you very much for the warm welcome accorded me by the Beninese journalists. The purpose of my presence here in Benin is to strengthen the friendship existing between the two associations--the AJB and the Association of Soviet Journalists--and also to strengthen the friendship between the two peoples. This mission is an important one as the Soviet people are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of their victory over the forces of Hitler. It is also important because it will contribute to the strengthening of our friendship to enable us to fight imperialism. I would also say that it would be a satisfactory mission if it could help in strengthening the relations of friendship existing between our two countries. [End recording]

Answering a question put to him to learn if after his visit, which follows an earlier one paid to Moscow by an AJB delegation, he hopes to strengthen the relations between the Union of Soviet Journalists and the AJB, Comrade (Emilianov) gave the following response:

[Begin (Emilianov) in Russian fading into French translation recording] Yes, I can say that relations between our two countries are excellent, as you know. We belong to the same international organization, which is the International Association of Journalists, and also we had the opportunity to meet the Beninese journalist comrades in 1983 at [name indistinct] where we had the opportunity of exchanging views and, as you know, we have very good relations with the Beninese journalists. [End recording]

CSO: 3419/275

BENIN

BRIEFS

3.3 BILLION CFA FROM FRG--The implementation of the Naveto hydroelectric dam project will start soon. The project is jointly initiated by our country and the Togolese Government within the framework of the Benin Electricity Company, jointly owned by the two countries. The FRG has just decided to grant a sum of DM44 million, that is some 6.6 billion CFA francs, equally distributed to the two countries. In this connection our country and the FRG today signed an agreement on a 3.3 billion CFA francs subvention. [Excerpt] [Cotonou Domestic Service in French 1930 GMT 8 Feb 85]

CSO: 3419/275

BOTSWANA

MASIRE SAYS FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT RSA

MB181842 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1745 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Gaborone, 18 Feb (SAPA)--Botswana foreign minister, Dr G. Chiepe, is to visit South Africa this month for talks with the South African foreign minister, Mr Pik Botha.

In an interview with Mr Allister Sparks, President Quett Masire said the meeting would discuss recent threats against Botswana by South Africa.

Mr Sparks, former chief of the RAND DAILY MAIL, is a correspondent of the WASHINGTON POST and the LONDON OBSERVER.

The Botswana president said the pressure being put on Botswana by South Africa to sign an accord similar to the Nkomati agreement was "taking on a new dimension with the latest Bophutatswana threat of invading Botswana."

Botswana saw no reason why it should enter into a peace treaty with South Africa "since they were not at war." "We are neighbours of long standing with South Africa," he said.

He said Botswana would continue to receive refugees fleeing from apartheid laws in South Africa because "we have an obligation under the Geneva Convention to do so."

He reminded South Africa that a border was a dividing line between countries and since Botswana was unable to patrol every meter of their border, "South Africa can do it from the other side of the fence to prevent the infiltration of freedom fighters from entering her soil.

"If South Africa fails to prevent them, then Botswana is the last country to be thought of doing that effectively with a small army."

His government's policy not to allow freedom fighters to operate from Botswana to attack neighbouring states was well known, President Masire said.

CSO: 3400/600

BOTSWANA

BOMB BLASTS HOME OF FREE LANCE JOURNALIST

MB131151 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 13 Feb 85

[Text] Gaborone residents were roused by a massive bomb blast this morning which reduced a house to rubble, shattered windows of neighboring shops and houses, and led to massive road blocks by the army and police around the capital.

The occupants of the house, South African refugee Nat Serache and another man still to be identified, miraculously escaped with minor injuries. They were treated at the (Princess Marina) this morning and left escorted by police.

A spokesman of the office of the president would not comment beyond confirming the explosion and the fact that police were investigating. But he did say that the possibility of a South African involvement cannot be ruled out.

There have been previous bomb blasts involving South African authorities and recently South Africa has accused Botswana of harboring what it called terrorists. South Africa has threatened to carry out raids similar to the one in Maseru, Lesotho, 2 years ago, in which several South African refugees and Basotho nations were killed.

The bomb blast at (Ginger) reverberated across the sleeping city, around 1 o'clock this morning and it was an immediate subject of animated discussion in buses and taxis as people went to work. Several people said they immediately suspected a bomb when they heard the noise which came shortly after a light drizzle and rumblings of thunder.

Police are still searching through the rubble and the area has been cordoned off by heavily armed soldiers of the Botswana Defense Force and police officers.

A large crowd was still at the scene at the time of making this report, with dozens of cars parked in the nearby shopping complex. Everyone leaving town is being checked. A tired looking senior police detective said they arrived on the scene almost immediately, but would not give more details. Botswana authorities have remained tight-lipped on the issue and a guarded statement may be released later today.

Mr Serache is a correspondent for several radio stations around the world, including the BBC, and also reported for a number of world news agencies.

BOTSWANA

BRIEFS

CHINESE DOCTORS TO ARRIVE--A total of 13 Chinese doctors, including two acupuncture doctors, are to arrive in Botswana sometime this year to serve in Gaborone and Francistown. The two acupuncture doctors will be expected to work at the Princess Marina Hospital in Gaborone, and the rest of the team at the Jubille Hospital in Francistown. The doctors' arrival follows a protocol which was signed between Botswana and the People's Republic of China on Tuesday this week. A news release from the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning says the protocol is the third in the field of health to be signed between Botswana and China. [Text] [Gaborone Domestic Service in English 0510 GMT 2 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/596

BURUNDI

VISIT OF PRC DELEGATION DESCRIBED

Bujumbura LE RENOUVEAU DU BURUNDI in French 15 Jan 85 p 1

[Excerpt] A delegation from the National Assembly of the People's Republic of China arrived in our country late Monday morning for a 5-day official visit. The Chinese parliamentary delegation is headed by Rong Yiren, the vice president of the Permanent Committee of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of China and chairman of the Board of Directors and general director of the National Credit and Investment Company of China.

In a brief statement which he gave to the press on his arrival in Bujumbura, the vice president of the Permanent Committee of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of China stated that he is carrying out this friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Burundi's National Assembly.

The Chinese and Burundian peoples, he emphasized, are linked by a profound traditional friendship. In recent years, relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries have developed satisfactorily. "Our stay in Burundi," Rong Yiren continued, "will furnish an opportunity to meet with old friends and make the acquaintance of new friends, to learn about the National Assembly of Burundi and your people and to exchange views on problems of common interest. The goal is to deepen the knowledge and friendship between the legislative institutions and the peoples of both countries and to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation between China and the African countries. I am convinced," he concluded, "that this visit will contribute toward a further development of the ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries."

The Chinese parliamentary delegation, which is to remain in our country for 5 days, will visit the Regional Society for Development in Rumonge, the Theicole Company in Teza and the Textile Complex in Bujumbura. Talks and working sessions are scheduled with the president of the National Assembly and with the representatives of the people of the District of Bujumbura.

8946

CSO: 3419/246

BURUNDI

CHURCH-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS COMPARED WITH THOSE IN RWANDA

Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Jacques de Barrin: "The Church, Mistress in Rwanda and Servant in Burundi"]

[Excerpts] Kigali--In the presbytery of this Kigali parish, the portrait of Maj Gen Juvenal Habyarimana, the head of state, is several feet larger than that of the Supreme Pontiff, which has been reduced almost to the size of a souvenir photo. It is true that in Rwanda there is a tradition of confusion between politics and religion that goes back to the time--around 1925--when Mwami Mutara, the first Christian king, had the local bishop as his adviser. Today, things seem not to have changed much: Monsignor Vincent Nsengiyumva, the capital's archbishop, is a member of the Central Committee of the National Revolutionary Development Movement (MRND) and chairman of its Social and Cultural Affairs Committee.

Neither discreet pressure from Rome nor open criticism by some of the clergy has yet convinced Monsignor Nsengiyumva of the necessity for standing aloof from the single party and leaving to Caesar that which is Caesar's, he is so convinced that "it is necessary to unite in order to have peace." Some people are suggesting, however, that in the "abnormal" position in which he finds himself, the prelate could play a humanitarian role, for example by visiting the political prisoners in the Ruhengeri prison. "In any case, Rwanda is not Chile," they say. "The Church here stands behind a government that is relatively honest and fairly tolerant."

These relations of mutual confidence--is it not said that the resident receives the bishop more willingly than he receives his ministers, to take the country's pulse?--took root at the time of the 1959 revolution, in which the Hutus brought down the feudal regime of the Tutsis. "All of those rebels were mission children," a priest says. "So we chose the camp of the oppressed."

The Church is reaping what it sowed, because its faithful control the destinies of the Rwanda whose constitution opens with a declaration of confidence "in God's omnipotence."

For all that, the Church has the temporal means to make itself heard, the Belgian colonizer having passed onto it some of its tasks at the time of the trusteeship. It was in this way that the Catholic missions, half of whose total

number of workers are foreigners, have worked away at developing the rural areas, have introduced there the cultivation of coffee and potatoes, as well as hog breeding. As large landowners, they also run a network of "general stores"--one per diocese--that are similar to small supermarkets and which think nothing of engaging on occasion in illicit activities, if only to exchange foreign currency at the unofficial price!

In addition to this rather mercantile aspect of things, the Church takes particular interest in what is published--it owns three printing plants--and what is written; it controls part of the periodical press. The government has entrusted to the Church the direction of nearly half of the primary schools. It also administers 80 percent of the secondary institutions. Is this too visible a presence? "It isn't a bad thing," a Rwandan priest assures us, "because there is nothing else nearby. We're not trying to hold on, we're filling a void."

For now, the government finds that the Church's omnipresence is to its advantage, since it does not have the means to be everywhere at once. Thus it looks favorably on the bishops' frequent trips to appeal to the generosity of the wealthy countries, beginning, as the saying goes here, "with a pilgrimage to St Mark and St Florin", meaning West Germany and the Netherlands. "If this aid is given through the missions, the populace has a better chance of seeing the color of the money than if it is sent to the government," someone here is heard to observe.

The government is also wary of taking umbrage at pious movements on the part of a population half of which is made up of baptized Christians, somewhat steeped in piety and very sensitive to the supernatural. The ecclesiastic profession is still highly regarded: it is to the priest, in the absence of a people's bank, that country people entrust their savings for safe-keeping! Religious practice is intense; last year, the Easter high mass drew more than 30,000 of the faithful to the Kigali stadium.

Today, all Rwanda is talking of nothing but the Virgin's appearances before school children in Kibeho, in the southern part of the country. The "Beautiful Lady's" messages stirred up a wave of piety, which manifests itself in a blaze of conversions and vocations and a blossoming of prayer groups. "Even the young have rallied," says a missionary. "They are no longer hesitant to display their faith in public."

"That's just what the government wants," say the skeptics, who analyze this spiritual fever as a hasty flight to escape the problems of the moment. In their opinion, "the government is encouraging opium-religion." It is a fact that the wife of the head of state defends, with conviction, the cause of the Kibeho apparitions, so that some people invoke the Virgin as "Our Lady of the 11th Republic".

How long will the "honeymoon" between the government and the Church last? Already, on the school question, they are not speaking quite the same language. As for birth control to arrest the demographic explosion, the local clergy are well aware that Rome's intransigence on the subject is in danger of making their lives impossible, that it would be out of place to pray that "all the women of Rwanda shall be a credit to their motherhood", as Mwami Mutara did in October 1946, when he dedicated the country to Christ the King.

If, on this side of the border, the Church and the government are great buddies, on the Burundian side they sit glaring at each other somewhat, while Rwanda and Burundi, which used to be united under a similar Belgian protection, appear to be "twin brothers". Except for one detail, however, that makes all the difference: the Tutsi minority that holds the levers of command in Bujumbura. The Catholic missions are also ill at ease in the face of a regime that casts doubt on their loyalty to it and suspects them of wanting to "export the revolution" they supported in the neighbor to the north, thus thrusting the Hutus to the forefront.

The disputes between Church and government go back to the beginning independence when the missionaries unsuccessfully played the Christian Democratic Party card, the party that was believed to be involved in the 1961 assassination of Louis Rwagasore, the head of the Union for National Progress (UPRONA), the party that had become the only one. Then, at the time of the "1972 tragedy", in which a confrontation occurred between Hutus and Tutsis, the government accused the clergy of having "fanned the flames". Finally, it was held against the ecclesiastic tribe, in high places, that in 1976 it had not greeted as it should have the advent of the 11th Republic, which had written "national reconciliation" into its program.

The fact remains that the Church--65 percent of the population is Catholic--presents itself as a counter-government to a party-state whose ambition it is to encompass everything. "Burundi's 100 rural parishes are so many places for human advancement with, gathered around the chapel, the basic education center, the clinic, the social hall, the cooperatives, etc.", says an observer. Up to now, the real development has been done through the missions, in which one recognizes a certain sense of organization and the common good. Local leaders are all the more sad that they lack the means to meet that challenge.

Is that an admission of impotence? The anger of Lt Col Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, the head of state, is directed first of all against the foreign missionaries who comprise half of the local clergy; since 1979, 100 "revolutionary saboteurs disguised as messengers of God" have thus been expelled from the country in several waves. The government has also applied itself to erasing all signs of "obscurantism"; thus, it decided that the word Sunday would no longer be translated in Kirundi, the local language, as "the Lord's Day", but as "the Seventh Day" and that the cross planted in the countryside must disappear from the landscape.

On the occasion of the 1984 Lent, the faithful were urged by the government to abstain from attending mass during the week, because there is one time for all and devotional exercises should not disturb the work on the land. No more Sunday service on the radio, no more Catholic newspaper. As for the papal nuncio, he had to give up his privilege as dean of the diplomatic corps.

Could there be, in this whole string of measures, an after-taste of anticlericalism pure and simple? In this respect, might not the head of state have been under the bad influence of the Free University of Brussels, and might not some of his advisers who were educated in the East have come back "dead set" against religion? "We are not against the Church," insists Emile Mworoha, the secretary general of UPRONA. "The proof is that all the Catholic holidays are public holidays. But the Church must adapt. Burundi is a secular state, and separation of church and state is written into our constitution. Each has its role."

Is the Church in Burundi a persecuted Church? Not really, even though it does happen to be the object of humiliation and harassment. In this climate of mutual suspicion, false rumors and alarmist rumblings soon ran all over the countryside. "The most painful part of this whole affair is that we don't know what the government expects of us, exactly which way it wants us to turn," a priest emphasizes. "Sometimes it's rough and sometimes it's comfortable."

Thus, in the Bururi diocese--which is the diocese of the head of state--, they are no longer extending the visas of the foreign missionaries when they expire, but elsewhere they renew them almost with their eyes closed.

When they really think about it, a number of Catholics come to the conclusion, without being masochistic for all that, that this ordeal is salutary. And when they examine their consciences: "We are supporting structures that are beyond us and we are prisoners of the money we receive," they say. "One thinks one can have his say about everything. The state, by shaking up our arrogance, is offering us an opportunity to find again the characteristics of a serving, poor Church that is more alive and less demonstrative." The Christians of Burundi and Rwanda, who complain the most, may not be the ones they are thinking of.

8946

CSO: 3419/246

12 March 1985

GHANA

BRITISH DEVELOPMENT DELEGATION ENDS 18-DAY TOUR

AB081725 Accra Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 8 Feb 85

[Newsreel]

[Text] A three-man delegation of the British Overseas Development Administration has completed its 18-day official tour of Ghana. While in the country, the delegation had talks with government and bank officials and examined areas in which the 7 million pound aid pledged by Britain at the Paris donor's conference could be best invested. At the end of the tour, the leader of the delegation, Mr Ron White, talked with Newsreel's Peter Paintsil. First Mr Ron White:

[Begin recording] [White] Well, we started off in Accra and then went on to Kumasi for a few days. From Kumasi I went to Tamale and then back to Accra and to Takoradi. This was largely to look into various possibilities for supporting the timber industry and encouraging forestry.

[Paintsil] Why did you choose forestry as your priority area?

[White] Well, the reason really is that the Government of Ghana chose forestry and timber as a priority area as part of its economic rehabilitation program because timber is the second highest export earner for Ghana. It comes up second after cocoa and it was regarded as a priority because it was thought that timber was the sector that could respond most quickly to aid imports to boost export earnings.

[Paintsil] What is the specific forestry project you intend to finance?

[White] Our main intention is to provide foreign exchange to enable timber companies to buy essential spare parts so that they can increase their output. We have in mind some associated projects, particularly, a forest inventory project which we hope will enable the Forestry Department to be able to have a fuller and more complete understanding of its resources and become the basis of a management program for those resources. We are thinking too of a community forestry project in the Tamale area which we hope will encourage villagers to plant more trees.

[Paintsil] Mr Ron White, if forestry is your priority, why the visits to the Ikomfo Anokye and Korle-Bu teaching hospitals?

[White] Well, timber indeed is a priority but is not an exclusive priority and there are many needs in Ghana. We have a long association with both hospitals. We have been providing support and books and expertise and training for a number of years and we are anxious to see how we can strengthen what we have achieved so far.

[Paintsil] This is about your third visit to Ghana. How do you compare these visits?

[White] This visit has been particularly exciting because I have seen a number of changes, all for the better. For example, while traveling through the country, I have seen a much wider range of food and vegetables for sale in much greater quantities. I noticed too an improvement in the transport. For example, during my first visit in 1983, I think about 80 percent or more of the lorries I saw had a lot of bare canvas showing on the tires. So far I have not seen one this year. We are all very conscious that Ghana's government has started on a very courageous program of economic reform which will be difficult to achieve but a very promising start has been made and the signs argue well for the future. [End recording]

CSO: 3400/598

GHANA

TIMES DISAPPROVES BOYCOTT OF PUBLIC TRIBUNALS

AB131037 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 13 Feb 85

[From the press review]

[Text] The GHANAIAN TIMES editorial is on the move by the Disciplinary Committee of the Ghana Bar Association against lawyers who have been defending people before the public tribunals contrary to the association's decision to boycott the tribunals.

The paper expresses surprise that in spite of the Bar Association's professed belief in the rule of law and the individual's freedom to pursue any legitimate means of livelihood, it deems it fit to take this action against some of its members. The TIMES says in the first place, when the boycott decision was made in 1982, it was publicly challenged because it was a minority decision by all considerations. Secondly, as far as the paper knows, the executive of the Bar Association did not and have not taken any measure to provide alternative legitimate means of making a living for those lawyers who appear before tribunals. In the third place, the TIMES says, nowhere in the constitution of the association is it stated or even indicated that the executive can, at any time, turn the professional body into a pressure group and use it as an instrument of dictatorship to expel its members or to deprive them of their livelihood. Lastly, the paper observes that when the association's executive were accused of hitting upon the boycott as a political move to subvert the revolution, they denied it and claimed that the boycott decision was based on the association's position that the tribunals were not capable of dispensing true justice and that the tribunal system was undermining the normal court system.

This view, in the opinion of the TIMES, has been proved wrong and the ground upon which the boycott decision was taken has been nullified and the decision is of no merit. The TIMES therefore wants the Bar Association to take another look at this decision.

CSO: 3400/598

GHANA

PNDC HEAD APOLOGIZES FOR ATTACK ON EDITORS

AB171525 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] The chief of staff of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Secretariat today apologized to the managing director of Abura Printing Works, owner of the PIONEER, for an (?attack) carried out on the editor of the paper, Bafuor Ankamah, and the news editor, Mr Osei Tutu Agyemang, by some members of the armed forces.

An official statement issued in Accra says the reason given by the soldiers was that in the report in the PIONEER of the sixth of this month, the names of persons injured during the operations in Kumasi to arrest some people plotting to destabilize the country were incorrectly reported. The name of a member of the Security Forces was reported as being one of the plotters. The statement quotes the chief of staff as saying that while it was understandable that this error angered the loyal troops, their action was uncalled for. The undersecretary for information has expressed the hope that the public would not misinterpret the unfortunate incident as an official reaction to the PIONEER coverage of the events in Kumasi on the second of this month. He explained that as a local paper covering a local event, the pre-eminence given to these events in the paper is not extraordinary. It is unfortunate that the error occurred as it is an indication of the need for careful checking of facts. The undersecretary said, however: It is even more unfortunate that the soldiers reacted the way they did, since their action was likely to be interpreted by those who did not wish the government well to mean that the soldiers' action had official approval.

CSO: 3400/611

GHANA

BRIEFS

FRG-GHANA AGREEMENT--The Volta River Authority today signed an agreement with the West German company, Messrs Allgemeine Bau Union, ABU, for construction work required for the implementation of the project for the improvement and expansion of the Volta Lake Transportation System. The contract price for the project is about DM 47 million in foreign exchange and about 96.5 million cedis in local currency. Under the agreement, the contractors will undertake the construction of ports and workshops facilities at Akosombo in the southern terminal and Buipe in the northern terminal of the Volta Transport System. [Excerpt] [Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 12 Feb 85 AB]

IMPORTATION OF PALM OIL BANNED--The government has banned the importation of palm oil since January this year because local production has considerably improved to meet domestic consumption. Disclosing this in an interview in Accra, the secretary for agriculture said the reason for the ban is to encourage local producers to increase production and to intensify the rehabilitation of oil palm plantations. He said the country now produces 60 percent of oil palm and 68 percent of palm kernel oil annually to satisfy the local market, including the soap industry. Dr Adjei-Marfo said if the program drawn up by the state oil palm plantation rehabilitation committee and other oil palm producers is implemented, Ghana will be self-sufficient in palm oil requirements by 1990 and be a net exporter in 1994. Dr Adjei-Marfo also announced plans to assist the three universities in the country to establish a plant pool and agricultural services centers. This will help reactivate the extension services facilities offered to peasant farmers. The secretary said the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi will be the first to benefit from such an assistance. This is because the vice chancellor has already provided the ministry with an agricultural development program. He said the mechanization department of the ministry is being restructured to have an (?outsert) to deal solely with educational institutions. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 14 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/598

LESOTHO

BRIEFS

TASS RECEIVER AT INFORMATION MINISTRY--The installation of receiving equipment from the Soviet news agency, TASS, began at the Ministry of Information headquarters this week. The Lesotho news agency entered into an agreement last year which would enable it to directly receive the TASS news agency service from Moscow. A spokesman for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting today said that the TASS news agency service would balance Radio Lesotho's sources of international news. The spokesman added that TASS news agency has the largest number of news correspondents in Africa, and this made it possible for TASS to provide one of the best news services on African news events. The spokesman said that by having news sources from major Western and Eastern agencies, Lesotho news agency would be able to greatly enhance its balanced presentation of international events to Basotho. He added that this fell into line with the Lesotho Government's policy of nonalignment. [Text] [Maseru Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 7 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/596

LIBERIA

BRIEFS

COURT RULING ON UP CASE--A probate court at the Temple of Justice in Monrovia has announced that ruling in the case involving the objections filed against the probation of the Unity Party's [UP] documents will be decided shortly. This was disclosed in Monrovia today by Probate Court Judge Eugenia H. Thompson following a ruling into the last of the two objections filed against the UP by Al Daley and Daniel Fluo. She gave no date. Last week the court heard the allegation of Mr Al Daley but the ruling was reversed to be decided later. During a hearing into Mr Fluo's objection today, his lawyers argued that as a concerned citizen, he has the right to bring before the probate court what he called the irregularities being committed by the Unity Party. He further contended that the documents issued by the Special Elections Commission to the UP were illegal because he said the documents carried the signature of only one member of the commission. For their part, the lawyers representing UP argued that the probate court has no jurisdiction over the case and should therefore refuse the petition of the objectors. They said the objectors had no legal right to bring the case before the probate court. [Text] [Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 1710 GMT 5 Feb 85]

DISTRIBUTING OF LEAFLETS DENIED--The committee to organize and register the United People's Party [UPP] has announced that no UPP member or official has either been arrested or detained in Nimba County since Secom's [Special Elections Commission] suspension of the organization's canvassing activities. A release from the headquarters of UPP yesterday quotes the Nimba County chairman of UPP, D.K. (Wilseylan), as saying up to yesterday's date all UPP canvassers in Nimba County are accounted for and no leaflets have been distributed by them since the suspension. Meanwhile a release issued by UPP yesterday said it was premature for Secom to have released information for which [words indistinct] facts. The committee further said Secom has the list of its canvassers and a simple reference to that (?can save) Secom from further embarrassment. The UPP has also expressed the belief that Secom's introduction of an alleged violation of the suspension is an attempt to divert public [attention] from the main issue of whether the distribution of information material is contrary to the guidelines. It can be recalled that last week Secom disclosed that some members of UPP had been arrested in Nimba County for distributing leaflets. [Text] [Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 0655 GMT 5 Feb 85]

MEMBER OF PROPOSED UPP ARRESTED--A member of the committee to organize the United People's Party [UPP], Mr Eric Deer, has been arrested by security personnel in Monrovia. A release from the proposed United People's Party said Mr Deer was arrested yesterday in the offices of the Special Elections Commission [Secom] following a meeting with Secom. The committee has indicated that earlier yesterday Mr Deer, who reported to its offices, expressed surprise about Secom's announcement last Friday that he was wanted but was in hiding. According to the committee, Mr Deer said that as far as he was aware, no one was looking for him in Nimba but he decided to come to Monrovia upon hearing the announcement. The UPP committee said it advised Mr Deer to immediately make himself available to Secom and it provided some officials to accompany him. The UPP committee said that when Mr Deer reported to Secom, Mr Harmond told him that he must first go back to Nimba and report to the Joint Security there. The committee said it was at Secom that Mr Deer was arrested by the security personnel. It can be recalled that last Friday the Secom quoted the Joint Security in Nimba County as accusing Mr Eric Deer of distributing UPP leaflets in Nimba and that he was in hiding. [Text] [Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 0655 GMT 13 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/598

12 March 1985

MALAWI

EXILE: ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by Moeletsi Mbeki]

[Text]

AT the height of the Third World economic boom in the 1960s a visiting Latin American dictator was asked in New York how his country's economy was developing. "The economy is doing fine, but the people are not," he said with a candour unusual for that class of person.

Malawi has been one of Africa's fastest growing economies — exporting food while the rest of the continent had its hands stretched out, pleading for food aid. But while the economy has been booming the ordinary Malawian has been steadily sinking into poverty, says an exiled Malawian economist who declined to have his name published.

In a study read at a conference on "State Policies on Agriculture and Food Production in Africa" held at Addis Ababa University recently the economist pours scorn on the description of Malawi's development as an "economic miracle".

Instead he paints a distressing picture of grinding poverty for the vast majority of the people where two out of every 10 infants die before the age of five for lack of enough food and adequate medical attention.

"If Malawi's food policy were a substantive success and one worth

emulating, this should be reflected in the health and nutritional status of the population," writes the economist. "However while aggregate food production indices give a glowing picture, the social and health indicators of welfare give a markedly depressing view of the situation," he adds.

AVERAGE

In 1980 life expectancy at birth in Malawi stood at 44 years while the average for low-income countries was 50 years. The infant mortality and child death rate for 1981 was 207 per thousand while the average for low income countries was 145 per thousand.

Comparing the dismal condition of Malawians to that of their neighbours, Tanzania and Zambia, two countries that have been much maligned for their agricultural policies, he points out that Tanzania has a life expectancy of 52 years and an infant mortality rate of 124 per thousand and Zambia about the same.

So where has Malawi's "economic miracle" gone wrong?

The answer seems to be that whereas during the last 20 years most of Africa has been struggling to rid itself of settler colonialists and the inequitable distribution of land that came with them, Malawi has been work-

ing in the opposite direction.

Malawi has been encouraging the growth of a class of black settler colonialists, owners of large estates who have been steadily eating away at the land formerly owned by the country's small peasants.

Since 1967, large chunks of Malawi's communal lands have been hived off and carved up into estates that were then liberally distributed among individuals who enjoyed the backing of "appropriate political leaders".

REVIVED

At about the same time Malawi revived another colonial system that had fallen into disrepute during the country's liberation struggle.

Using a system of patronage the authorities encouraged the growth of a class of rich peasants which is known as the "Achikumbe" in Nyanja, or progressive farmers.

"This scheme," writes the economist, "provided agricultural information and inputs to a select number of what were considered enterprising and promising communal farmers who would in the process to be given leasehold titles to the land they occupied."

With the two classes of estate owners and Achikumbe in place in about 1968 and both classes largely dependent on the government for their survival and welfare — credits, land, extension services — the stage was set for the people to dance to Dr Banda's tune, and dance they did.

The estates were given

a monopoly for the country's main cash crops intended for export: tobacco, tea, sugar and cotton, while the smaller producers were instructed to grow staple crops and some tobacco.

The estates sold directly to the world markets while the smaller producers had to sell to a parastatal, the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation, Admarc, which dictated the price in such a way as to suck up substantial profits from the small producers and then lend out these profits to the estate sector.

By this ingenious piece of social engineering the government achieved three of its main economic objectives, writes the economist.

MAXIMISED

"First, foreign exchange was maximised to finance elite and urban imports and symbolic projects. Secondly, through Admarc the forced appropriation of investible surpluses was undertaken to ensure the availability of surpluses that will continuously regenerate Press Holdings and estate farming.

"Thirdly subsistence food production was assured in a manner that reproduced the workforce albeit at a low level of consumption."

This, in a nutshell, was the Malawi "economic miracle".

It consisted of taking from the very poor, the small communal peasants, and giving to the very rich, the estate owners, as well as taking a little bit from the not so poor, the Achikumbe,

and giving to the rich and to the government.

From this model of development it is clear that the real casualties are the great majority of people who are neither estate owners nor Achikumbe and these, essentially, are the great mass of the poor peasants.

Squeezed on one side by the increasing privatisation of their communal lands and on the other side by the prices offered for their produce by Admarc, they were forced to go out and look for wage employment on the Malawian estates and then farther afield in South Africa, for example.

Thus between 1968 and 1977 the number of agricultural workers in Malawi expanded more than three times from 50 790 to 179 000, while their earnings either declined or at best stagnated.

The threefold increase in agricultural employment went with an equally dramatic increase in food production which the economist said it increased by 375 percent between 1970 and 1981.

He concludes, however, in a note that is reminiscent of the comment made by the Latin American dictator years ago. "Thus apart from the fact that food production has quantitatively increased in Malawi, this has not been reflected in the welfare of the population," he says, adding that Malawi fares "significantly worse than its neighbours who are constantly asked to emulate the Malawi miracle".

NAMIBIA

TASS CITES SWAPO OFFICIAL ON S. AFRICAN, U.S. POLICY

LD081515 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 8 Feb 85

[Text] Freetown, 8 February (TASS)--Correspondent Aleksandr Yurin reporting:

The U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa has led to the toughening of the colonial regime in Namibia, said E. Ambange, representative of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). Addressing the current fourth conference of the African Regional Organization of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, E. Ambange stressed that imperialist powers, ignoring the decisions of the world community, combine to assist Pretoria and, in so doing, help the apartheid regime to grow stronger.

E. Ambange rejected Washington's and Pretoria's efforts to "link" the granting of independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Namibia's decolonization, E. Ambange stressed, has nothing to do with the issue which is within the competence only of the government of Angola.

The order imposed on the occupied Namibia by the apartheid regime, the SWAPO representative went on to say, serves as an instrument for oppressing the Namibian people and suppressing its national liberation movement. The policy of the "Pretoria authorities and its Western allies leaves no other choice to Namibian patriots but to carry on with armed struggle for freedom and independence, E. Ambange emphasised. [Quotation marks as received]

R. Utukulu, a representative of the Union of Tanzanian Workers, strongly condemned the policy of the U.S. administration aimed at securing its strategic and economic interests in South Africa and Namibia. Favoring so-called "constitutional reforms" by the apartheid regime, Western powers are doing everything to prevent the African majority from coming to power in the republic of South Africa and Namibia, he stressed. The representative of Tanzanian workers urged all progressive forces of the world to support the liberation struggle against the racist rule in southern Africa.

CSO: 3400/612

NAMIBIA

FURTHER ON SWATF ACTIONS AGAINST SWAPO

MB150940 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0937 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] The SWATF chief of staff operations, Brigadier Johan Louw, told a news conference in Windhoek that security force successes against SWAPO's present armed incursion into SWA/Namibia "are the highest ever compared to the corresponding period of previous years." He attributed the successes to "the ability of the security forces to adapt to changing circumstances and greater involvement of the civilian population in the struggle against SWAPO."

As in the past, SWAPO insurgents had adopted a "stereotype" pattern in their present infiltration campaign. Prevailing weather conditions at this time of the year favoured the insurgents. They had enough water and the rains washed away their tracks.

"Notwithstanding these advantages for the terrorists, three terrorist groups of seven men each were wiped out on their way to infiltrate the farming areas," Brigadier Louw said.

It was expected that a few isolated groups of SWAPO's armed wing would still try to penetrate the commercial farming districts south of Ovambo but the security forces and others were on the alert and prepared for all eventualities.

Among the insurgents killed this week were four commanders of SWAPO's "special unit," a "detachment" commander and an engineer of "CB detachment." Their fighting names were "Bybel, Ndenga, Matsi, Iikombo, Tutu and Johannesburg."

Brigadier Louw said equipment seized from SWAPO since the start of the infiltration last month included 135 small arms, 54 machineguns, nine RPG7 rocket launchers, 82 RPG7 rockets, 201 mortar bombs, 7 mortar tubes, 224 rifle grenades, 64 anti-personnel mines, 22 anti-vehicle mines, 79 hand grenades, 109 kg of explosives and one rubber boat. The boat had been used to cross the Kunene River from Angola into SWA/Namibia.

Brigadier Louw added that on Sunday night a group of SWAPO insurgents had fired 60 mm mortars at a kraal complex in the vicinity of Ongwediva in central Ovambo and four civilians, including a young child, had been injured by shrapnel. In another incident, a cattle herder in the operational area lost a leg when cattle detonated a landmine of Soviet origin.

Brigadier Louw said SWAPO insurgents now being encountered by the security forces were considerably younger than in the past. The indications were that the older and more experienced men had been eliminated and that SWAPO was experiencing "manpower problems." "I gain the impression they are sent into the field sooner than they (SWAPO) would want them to," he said.

CSO: 3400/600

NAMIBIA

CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION ANALYZED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 20 Dec 84 p 11

[Second of three-part article by Riaan Louw: "VPK Makes Progress, SWAPO is Poking Around"]

[Text] The polarization into pronounced pro- and anti-Marxist alliances is a new dimension in South-West African politics which came about around the time of the talks earlier this year in Lusaka between representatives of the Multiparty Conference [VPK] and SWAPO, according to Dr Willie van Niekerk, administrator-general of South-West Africa.

The separation into two well-defined groups with distinct goals also has wider implications. In contrast to the VPK, which was recently one year old and in that time has made decided progress, SWAPO has been poking around pulling together allies in an attempt to be in a position to react to the strategic moves by the VPK in the direction of independence.

Ultimatum

The ultimatum issued by the VPK to SWAPO, that it indicate by 31 December whether it is prepared to discuss around a conference table the problems surrounding independence, puts further pressure on SWAPO.

SWAPO, or more specifically its leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, was asked to provide answers to a series of questions, in part about its objectives, as part of this report, but it chose to ignore them.

Mr Sean Cleary, head director of the office of administrator-general of South-West Africa, believes that the creation of the VPK has definitely had an effect on SWAPO's long-term and short-term goals.

Struggle

According to him, the stage has been reached in the history of the struggle for South-West Africa where the objectives of South Africa, the five Western countries involved in the South-West African conflict, some of the frontline states and the overwhelming majority of the South-West African people are

nearly identical: a politically stabile, economically and administratively competent, internationally recognized independent country.

Acceptance is growing here for the notion that the process that the VPK represents--that interest groups or political parties with divergent interests and ideologies can come together and make a serious attempt to set aside their differences and formulate common positions on as many aspects as possible--is the only solution for South-West Africa's political problems.

Spectrum

In a certain sense, the VPK can be compared in South African terms to a conference of the Pan-Africanist Congress on the Left, the United Democratic Front, Inkatha, the various colored and Indian parties participating in the political dispensation, the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party, the National Party and the Conservative Party on the Right. This represents virtually the entire political spectrum in South African politics, with the exclusion of the African National Congress and the Reconstituted National Party.

The Turnhalle idea initiated this process 10 years ago at an adolescent stage. Unfortunately, there was not a significant number of strong political leaders from black ranks represented, but a process of binding together culturally was indeed begun.

Understanding

Although few politically developed blacks were represented in Turnhalle, a process was brought about whereby cultural and ethnic groups moved closer together and developed understanding for their need to coexist.

What is taking place today in the VPK is a more adult, more advanced process of rationalizing the political spectrum. At issue for the first time is ideology instead of the individual interests of ethnic groups.

SWAPO has continued to uphold its claim of exclusivity, which has meant that even people representing black nationalist interests who have rejected ethnicity as a standard have turned their backs on SWAPO and become involved in the peace process.

Status

According to Dr Van Niekerk, factors contributing to this especially were SWAPO's unwillingness to in any way accept any of these groups as equal partners and its persistence in laying claim to its status as the only representative of the people of South-West Africa, as well as its continuation of armed combat as the only alternative for gaining South-West Africa's independence.

According to him, SWAPO went to Lusaka to try to break the VPK and profit from the situation politically. In the process, the VPK without a doubt succeeded in dealing a thorough setback to the claim of sole representation.

With the creation of the VPK, SWAPO realized the need to include other political groups. By May, the VPK had advanced so far that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia had to take note of its existence, to such an extent, in fact, that he was prepared to bring the VPK and SWAPO together at the conference table.

Obligated

During the Lusaka talks, SWAPO was obliged to react to what it was confronted with, and it abandoned its exclusivity of sole representation with the establishment of a so-called "patriotic front."

The fact that SWAPO will probably not react to the VPK invitation to state before 31 December whether or not it is going to join in the talks, together with the VPK's plan to talk with South Africa and other interested countries after 15 January about South-West African independence, should not be seen as meaning that a move is being made toward an interim government or a unilateral declaration of independence. Seen in broader terms, the resolution of 30 October spells out three clear facts:

Violence

Dissatisfaction with the existing system of bureaucratic government and the replacement of it with representative government. Coupled with this is dissatisfaction with the bloodshed resulting from violence on both sides and with the inability of the United Nations, the Western five, the front states and South Africa to reconcile problems and to effect the right to self-determination and independence.

The VPK supplies its own formula for eliminating the above-mentioned problems, specifically, holding a conference of all parties to discuss the problems.

The VPK recognizes that success is dependent on SWAPO consent. However, should SWAPO not be prepared to agree, the VPK is not prepared to be handicapped by this and give SWAPO a permanent veto over its future. Therefore, the VPK will enter into talks with the South African government and other interested parties about independence for South-West Africa.

Plan

It is impossible at this stage to determine the scope of choices that the VPK will have after 15 January, because this will depend on what happens in the next month.

However, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA], one of the six parties in the VPK, believes that the VPK must go to South Africa with at least a definite plan for a form of government. Such a plan does not to this date exist.

As for the position of the administrator-general, it is clear that there is a definite need for parties such as the DTA to gain responsibility in governing the country to a greater extent than the DTA had previously when it was in power. Authorities in constitutional law feel that a government like this could be invested with the authorities that the administrator-general now has, with the exception of powers that are limited to the governments of independent states. Intended by this in particular are foreign relations, arrangements for nationality and customs affairs.

12271

CSO: 3401/73

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

SEVEN SWAPO MEMBERS KILLED--A total of seven SWAPO terrorists have been shot dead by the security forces near (Oshendendo) in southern Ovambo. According to a spokesman at Territory Force headquarters in Windhoek, the security forces suffered no casualties. The latest incident brings to 107 the number of terrorists killed since the beginning of the year. The security force has also confirmed that three civilians were injured in a mortar attack by SWAPO on the (Mufalangua) residential area in (Onguadiva), about 10 km southeast of Oshakati. According to the statement, about 15 terrorists fired six mortar shells on the residential area. Two of the shells did not explode. One of those injured is a baby girl. The security force says closer examination has shown that the mortar shells are of Soviet origin, and there is no doubt that SWAPO was responsible for the attack. In another terrorist incident, a 35-year-old man, Mr (Shitungu Hometemeya), was injured when a cow detonated an antipersonnel mine near (Ongwediva). Mr (Mometemeya) [words indistinct]. [Text] [Windhoek Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 11 Feb 85]

SWATF MEMBERS KILLED--Windhoek, 14 Feb (SAPA)--Three more members of the SWA Territory Force [SWATF] have died in action against SWAPO insurgents, the SWATF announced in Windhoek today. They were Sapper Gerard Van Wyk, 21, of Rehoboth, Sapper Herklaas Feris, 20, of Windhoek and Sapper Willem Vallien, 27, of Keetmanshoop. The SWATF gave no further details. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1121 GMT 14 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/596

NIGERIA

MUSLIMS CALL FOR ISLAMIC LAW COURTS IN SOUTH

Kaduna GASKIYA TA FI KWABO in Hausa 13 Dec 84 p 16

[Text] The Islamic Imams Association of the states of Oyo, Ondo and Ogun gave its blessing to a call for establishing Islamic courts of law [shari'a] in the southern section of the country.

The Association gave its blessing to the call in the town of Abeokuta during the celebration of the second graduation of students of the Zulikha Abiola Koran Studies Institute conducted at Alake and Abeokuta.

Sheikh Adam Abdullahi of Ilori, secretary general of the Imams Association, was the first to make the call for all Muslims in the south of the country at Ilori.

Subsequently the principal imams of Egba, Igebu-Ode, Remo and Egbado informed a Muslim mass assembly that all Muslims in the south of the country endorse the call to establish their own Islamic courts of law.

According to Sheikh Adam the Muslim people in the south of the country need an Islamic court especially for marriage, divorce and estate settlement cases.

The religious leader of Yarbawa, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, in discussing the subject said that if Islamic courts have succeeded in the north of the country then there is no reason the same cannot happen in the south.

CSO: 3498/3

NIGERIA

ITF OFFICIAL FAVORS TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS

AB091515 Lagos NAN in English 1336 GMT 9 Feb 85

[Text] Lagos, 9 Feb (NAN)--Roxy Udogwu, the African regional representative of the International Transport Federation (ITF), said in Lagos yesterday that it was hypocritical of African trade unionists to openly criticise affiliations with international labour bodies.

Speaking at the closing ceremony of a 5-day seminar on the "Role of Trade Unions in Economic Recession" at the Mainland Hotel, Ebute Metta, Mr Udogwu said that while condemning such affiliations, African labour movements were on the other hand gaining from the contributions of Asian workers to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). He said that trade unions were important instruments for good international relations, stressing that they should encourage the coming together of workers, irrespective of racial differences, creed or religion," and by implication seek the social, economic and cultural unity and progress of their nations." He said that genuine working class solidarity would be derived if workers freely associated themselves with others.

The national president of the Nigerian Ports Authority Workers Union (NPAWU), Chief Abonema Agbonikhane, said that the union preferred "affiliation to fraternisation because it provides it equal rights and obligations in the ITF." He said that it was an act of denial of workers' own right, if they were prevented from affiliation with "their own international colleagues with whom they share the same aspirations and objectives," adding that doing so would amount to contravening the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No 87 of 1984 on freedom of association and protection of human rights to organise.

The general secretary of the Union of Seamen and Water Transport Workers, former Senator Joseph Ansa, said that the role of trade union education could not be over emphasised, adding that it provided the "necessary platform and springboard" with which workers could find solutions to their collective problems. He said that Nigerian workers could only benefit from such educational facilities through their collective and group participations with other organisations.

The 5-day seminar, which ended yesterday, was jointly organised by the ITF and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation of Western Germany and was aimed at examining and analysing the role of trade union officials in a recessionary economic environment. Twenty-five senior officials of the ITF affiliate unions in the country participated in the seminar. It was also to help the participants find solutions which could lighten the burden of trade union officials during collective bargaining under a recession.

CSO: 3400/499

NIGERIA

CHALLENGE TO VALIDITY OF DECREE 2 DISMISSED

AB091217 Lagos NAN in English 0732 GMT 9 Feb 85

[Text] Lagos, 8 Feb (NAN)--A federal high court judge today in Lagos dismissed the application of five Taiwanese challenging the validity of their detention.

Wang Ching-Yao, Lee Dav-shin, Lai Yee-Sheen, Huang Chieng-ho and Wung Kuo-chin, in an application for a writ of habeas corpus against the chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, and three others, urged the court to release them because their detention was unconstitutional, null and void. Also joined in the application are the director of customs, the director of the federal prisons, Kirikiri, and the attorney-general of the federation. In a 23-point affidavit to support the application argued by their counsel, Mr Olisa Agbakoba, the Taiwanese alleged that they were arrested on 24 July 1984 and had since been detained without trial.

Mr Justice Fred Anyaegbunam said that he was satisfied that the applicants were detained on the orders of the chief of staff acting in compliance with Decree 2 of 1984. The judge said that the bail sought by the applicants was misconceived because the decree under which they were detained made no provisions for trial and bail. He said that the counteraffidavit of the respondents which was not controverted, showed clearly that the applicants were in possession of blank customs invoices, which was an offence under the customs and excise management act and, therefore, a prima facie case had been established against them. The chief of staff, he said, was satisfied that the applicants, being in possession of these forms, were in "preparation to concern themselves in the economic adversity of the nation."

CSO: 3400/499

NIGERIA

LAGOS COMMENTS ON NEED TO MAKE ECOWAS MORE EFFICIENT

AB131153 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 13 Feb 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] Recently, Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council of Burkina Faso, formerly known as Upper Volta, called for the merger of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, and the Communaute Economique de l'Afrique [as heard], better known as CEA0.

The ECOWAS is an economic organization of all states in West Africa set up to promote economic, cultural, and social interactions among member states. The CEA0, on the other hand, comprises mainly French-speaking West African states with similar objectives as the ECOWAS. In effect, the CEA0 runs parallel to the ECOWAS and is therefore a duplication.

Giving the reasons for his proposal, the Burkina Faso leader said such a bold move would confound Africa's enemies and pave the way for a more meaningful and productive cooperation in West Africa and subsequently in the entire continent. And perhaps more significant was Captain Sankara's remark that it was not in the interest of Africa to have fragmented regional groupings. Coming as it did, at a time when African countries, particularly those in the West African subregion, are facing serious economic crunch coupled with the ravages of drought, the Burkina Faso leader's concern needs urgent consideration by all those concerned, especially the West African leader. For it is precisely this fragmentation of economic groupings that had caused setbacks for West African states and the ECOWAS itself. For example, the Economic Community of West African States has been unable to make any impressive achievement since its formation mainly because of the activities of mushroom rival associations to it. The existence of such groupings like the CEA0 and the Mano River Union, MRU, made up of Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, is nothing but a duplication of efforts.

Recognizing this problem, the council of ministers of ECOWAS recommended last year in Conakry, Guinea, a merger of CEA0 and the MRU with the ECOWAS. Since then, however, nothing much has changed. Luckily enough, however, Capt Thomas Sankara is currently the chairman of the CEA0. This places

him in a unique position to give backing to his proposal. We have no doubt, therefore, that he will use his initiative to sell his suggestion to other members of his organization.

In this connection, Captain Sankara has a world of experience to draw from, for today Burkina Faso is having almost rewarding relations with Ghana and this was made possible by the steadfast leadership of the Burkina Faso leader. As a result of these closer ties, the two countries have been able to protect each other's currency and trafficking in national currencies along the two countries' borders has been reduced to a barest minimum, if not completely checked. And for long, currency trafficking has been the main problem between the two countries.

Nigeria, one of the strong supporters of the ECOWAS, is today experiencing some problems, checking currency trafficking along her borders with neighboring countries like Benin Republic and Togo who are also members of the CEA0 as well as ECOWAS. There is no doubt that a merger of the CEA0 and the MRU with the ECOWAS will give leaders like Captain Sankara the opportunity of passing information about success of the exercise in Burkina Faso and Ghana to other members of the ECOWAS for a trial. What is more, mutual interchange of ideas among African leaders within one organization such as the ECOWAS has a more meaningful impact on the lives of millions of West Africans, and not the fragmented economic unions.

CSO: 3400/499

SENEGAL

THOUSANDS BOYCOTT MUNICIPAL, RURAL ELECTIONS

Dakar WAL FADJRI in French 30 Nov-14 Dec 84 pp 5-7

[Article by S. Thiam: "Municipal and Rural Elections: The People Abstained"]

[Text] Being an election evening on which the returns were announced one recalled that of 1983 when the election of a president of the republic was involved! At least from the standpoint of the vote tallies. Everywhere it was a tidal wave for the PS [Socialist Party] Nothing, absolutely nothing for the opposition. This was foreseeable, as was the all but general indifference with which the polling was conducted.

Facing the PS were only 3 of the 14 parties of the opposition, although the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor], for certain reasons joined in the obstructionism that, according to that party, stood in the way of proper pre-election procedures, [text missing] had preferred to reduce its participation to its most simple expression (see our preceding issue). But these reasons as well as the absence of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], which is the main group in the opposition, cannot explain the dominant feature of these elections, which is more significant than the victory of the PS, that is, the high rate of abstention.

As a matter of fact, democracy had been "assassinated" a year ago. A harsh blow to the hope that the people could still keep a hold on the ballot boxes so that they would be able to determine their future, a blow dealt by the acts of chicanery orchestrated by the PS and later approved by the president. Many hopes finally frustrated in the bosom of the people and the determination never to begin all over again, never to lend their support to any such thing again. They kept their promise, especially in that important fringe of the electorate that defines itself as "apolitical" and whose vote is guided by feelings prompted by the economic crisis, feelings motivated, as they are, by the election platforms.

And so, in these municipal and rural elections, voting was not a duty of the citizen, but rather a duty of the militant. The chicanery of the PS in 1983 contributed much to this result, the decisions made by the government and then by the PS this year played their part as well. Mainly the act of keeping the official media (radio and television) out of the campaign and by so doing arranging it so that the latter would pass unnoticed.

This was done not so much for the purpose of preventing the creation of a permanent atmosphere around elections, as the official statement maintains. It was especially because, in this period of difficult even explosive political, economic and social crisis, the PS felt that it would be dangerous if the "heated" media carried the criticisms made by the opposition even into the thatched cottages. And all the more so, since this year the personal appeal of Abdou Diouf, who, in 1983, was the only battle horse of the PS, has undergone considerable depreciation.

Defender Of Democracy

And so the government, contrary to what it said in its appeals, did not want a public opinion poll to be taken, since it had cut off the best means of implementing one. Therefore its victory became all the easier since it had sufficient means of going to the voters and of rousing them to vote, if not directing them how to vote, which was something that was not available to the opposition. The height of the irony is that it once again finds itself today in the role of defender of democracy, with its accusations that the militants of the opposition (the PDS and the PLP [Party for the Liberation of the People's of Senegal]) impeded the proper conduct of the poll. However, the opposition did not allow the ground to be pulled from under its feet. It too sallied forth with its long list of denunciations. This had begun even before the elections, some ascribing to a possible performance totally negative on their part to the irregularities that would be introduced into the voting process. So be it. But now that the dice, loaded as they may be, are cast our political future is destined. For the government's part, President Diouf declares that he is ready to "interpret the message of the elections in accordance with the deep-felt, legitimate aspirations of the people of Senegal." Unfortunately, these aspirations, according to the reasoning of Babacar Niang of the PLP, have not been expressed. To vote for the PS, he said (see LE SOLEIL for Saturday, 24 November), is to vote "for the disgusting filth of our towns, the neglect of the municipal teams on their way out, the dishonest practices of certain rural community chairmen." But this cannot be said to represent our aspirations. Abdou Diouf has no doubt at all about them. Political honesty ought to force him to interpret these aspirations in another way. To end up with what?

With a new appeal for a vote of confidence as in 1983? The present state of the relations with the leftist opposition is not very resigned to such an idea. The Right (MRS [Senegalese Republican Movement] and PDS) might show itself to be amenable, but Boubacar Gueye and his party have no political clout, while, in the PDS, the party base is still opposed to such a vote of confidence, which, at one point, so intrigued the leadership of this party that it was almost induced to come to terms with the idea.

So it seems more likely that a rapprochement will come from the opposition. Its grave defeat is surely not connected with acts of chicanery alone. It is the second time that the verdict at the voting booths proved to be disastrous for it, even though the situation of the country should have

enabled it to perform in a virtually better way, even if its ideological language is less forceful than that of the PS, which deals with purely financial concerns.

Actually, the split up among the opposition continues to harm it. And it would be suicidal for it to go on as if nothing had happened. The regroupings by sectors (Suxxali Reewmi) did not have the impact on the people that was anticipated and that was enjoyed by what was called, during its brief existence, the "Refusal Front."

The first fruits of a possible unity made a brief appearance at the joint press conference held by the PIT and the LD [Democratic League] before the elections. They were apparent in the language of Bathily (LD), who expressed his regret "that the opposition was unable to regroup itself around a slogan against the PS and make the latter the target of the election battles." (See LESOLEIL cited above).

The presidential election of 1988 is almost here. Now today, the opposition is in a weakened condition, despite the fact that it has a great number of claims to make. In this way, these results must be for it more of a revelation of its weaknesses (weaknesses of those who did not have a share in those same results), rather than an indicator of the great capacity of the PS militants for chicanery. The true result of these elections is not represented by the large number of votes garnered by the PS, but rather by the high percentage of those who abstained in the electoral college.

8089

CSO: 3419/196

SENEGAL

POOR SHOWING AT POLLS BY OPPOSITION

Dakar WAL FADJRI in French 30 Nov-14 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Idrissou S. Biodan and Y. Ndiaye: "Crumbs for the Opposition"]

[Text] As was to be expected, the lion's share of the votes in the 1984 municipal and rural elections went to the Socialist Party [PS] with 96.35 percent of the count in all the rural districts and communities. The remainder is unequally divided among the parties of the opposition that took part in the electoral contest.

The first lesson to be drawn from these elections is that of a population of 2 million Senegalese entitled to vote, only some 400,000 to 500,000 showed up at the polling places. A skimpy record for the public opinion poll that passed unnoticed in certain regions of the country.

But were these elections conducted in an open, calm atmosphere?

Since Mr Babacar Niang, leader of the PLP [Party for the Liberation of the People's of Senegal], was absent, we were unable to learn what his impressions were. As for the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor], M Madi Danfakha, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, whom we met during the absence of M Seydou Cissokho, refused absolutely to say a word.

On the other hand, M Mamadou Ndoeye, the number two man of the LD/MPT [Democratic League--Movement for the Labor Party], explained the first thoughts of his party to us. He says that these elections are "a political victory for the LD/MPT, thus narrowing by this very fact the base of the PS. By actual count as well as by percentage, despite the call for a boycott, the LD was able to gain a better seating. There was, however, a vast number of fraudulent acts committed during the elections. But fortunately these traditional cases of cheating were fortunately limited to such a degree, thanks to the vigilance of the LD/MPT, that the PS finally admitted its defeat. We gave them such a hard time at the voting booths that they were unable to stuff the ballot boxes as is their usual practice."

In any case, in view of the officially published percentages, the opposition picked up only a few points, while it suffered a great loss by restoring to the PS, through the fault of the PDS, one rural district and 8 rural communities that it had controlled since the last elections.

SENEGAL

PARLIAMENT ADOPTS NEW LAW ON PRISON REMAND

AB091256 Dakar PANA in French 1045 GMT 9 Feb 85

[Excerpt] Dakar, 9 Feb (APS/PANA)--Preventive remand no longer exists in Senegal. It has been replaced by a remand which must not exceed 6 months. Moreover, the judge who wants to oppose bail for a suspect must give strong reasons for his order which can be challenged at an appeals court.

These are just some of the articles of the important draft bill adopted unanimously by the Senegalese parliamentarians who met in a plenary session on Friday under the chairmanship of Daouda Sow, speaker of the National Assembly.

This law amends the penal code and it results from the national judicial conference held in Dakar from 5 to 9 May 1984 to lay the foundations for thorough reform of the legal system and its guiding principles.

The new law adopted by the parliamentarians will adapt the penal code procedure to the law adopted on 2 February 1984, setting up regional and provincial magistrate courts and justices of the peace. It will also provide for better protection of individual freedoms through measures concerning the main points of the Senegalese legal system. The new law is aimed at a speedy trial and it also covers the issuance of checks with insufficient funds. Under the same law, no trial must be adjourned more than three times. It suspends preliminary investigations in cases involving juvenile offenders and--a unique case in the world--it provides for disciplinary sanctions against judicial staff found not respecting the deadlines contained in the new text.

CSO: 3419/275

SENEGAL

KA COMMENTS ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS MEETING

AB111850 Dakar Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 11 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Information and Telecommunications Minister Djibo Ka returned to Dakar yesterday evening from Cairo where he attended the conference of French-speaking countries' ministers of communications. Many decisions were made. Let us listen to the minister:

[Begin Ka recording] First of all, communication: Communication is considered here in its full meaning. It concerns the message and the means used to convey it. In the field of telecommunications, a proposal was made and adopted concerning a telecommunications satellite project for the French-speaking world to be used for communication purposes. According to the will of the member countries of the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency [ACCT], which were represented at the conference by about 20 ministers, we also decided to establish a communications zone of the French-speaking world. A technical committee will be set up to this effect to examine all the technical and financial aspects of the decisions. Of course, our country will be on the technical committee.

Still in the communications sector, a second decision was made. France, which is going to launch a telecommunications satellite soon, made a proposal that the possibility for putting a part of this satellite at the disposal of the French-speaking world should be examined. Participants in the conference accepted the proposal.

The second important decision concerns production in the field of radio, television, and also cinema since cinema is also part of communications in its broadest sense. Concerning the production and the joint production of radio, television, and films, we decided to set up a special assistance fund for joint productions in radio and television by competent organs of the ACCT member countries because we realized that this was one of the promising sectors but that it was an expensive proposition for each individual member country of the organization.

Concerning cinema, we particularly stressed the need to promote African films, that is films produced by French-speaking film producers. In this regard, the ACCT must, in the first place, assist film festivals established

for that purpose. We also decided to develop the rural radio and television. I think in regard to production that is all I wanted to say.

The last decision that is worth pointing out also concerns training and research. The conference stressed the need to have highly qualified staff in the communications field who are capable of processing information in its broadcast sense as well as running the communications system we want to set up. They should also be able to handle both the old and new technologies. In this field, we agreed that existing training centers should be strengthened. [End recording]

CSO: 3419/275

SENEGAL

SAUDI ARABIA SIGNS AGREEMENT ON WATER SUPPLY PROGRAM

AB122030 Dakar Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 12 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Saudi Arabia yesterday signed in Dakar a financial agreement concerning a village water supply program which will cost about 45.5 billion CFA francs and which is meant for 10 African countries including Senegal. Chad will also benefit from this program and the Chadian minister of water resources [Adoum Moussa Seif] stressed its importance for his country to Iba Gueye.

[Begin recording] [Seif] It is a priority for all the country for we know what is now going on. We are very much in need of drinking water for people and animals. We think, therefore, that it is a project which each member country of the Sahel and the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel has hailed with great satisfaction.
[End recording]

[Gueye] Mr Minister, did Saudi Arabia impose any conditions?

[Seif] I do not think there are any conditions because Saudi Arabia, which is making a gift to the Sahelian countries, cannot impose any particular conditions on the receiving countries. To be sure, there are certain practical problems between the executing enterprises and the receiving owing to the fact that the enterprises are after their interests while we, on our part, want the maximum number of wells. [End recording]

CSO: 3419/375

SEYCHELLES

MILITIA URGED TO UPHOLD REVOLUTION

Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION in English 6 Feb 85 pp 1, 10

[Text]

MEMBERS of the Seychelles People's Militia have to be examples of political motivation and discipline if they are to earn the respect of the people they are committed to defend, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, Mr. James Michel said yesterday evening.

He was speaking to a large group of militia men and women of West Mahé during an introductory session at the Anse Boileau School before initial basic training starts next week.

Mr Michel, who is also the Chief of Staff of the Seychelles People's Defence Forces (SPDF), described the militia as a military force made up of

SPPF militants who had volunteered to devote some of their time not only to the struggle to create a new society, but also to defend that struggle.

But defending the Seychellois socialist revolution did not only mean learning how to use a man against the enemies of the people. It also meant using different methods and means in different situations so as to effectively counter and defeat the various tactics used to try and undermine, hold back or reverse the course of the people's struggle.

All this called for a proper understanding of, and a unshakeable belief in the principles guiding the country's efforts to set up a new society, Mr Michel said.

"So the militia man and woman never stop learning, continually take part in political discussions and courses, and keep on strengthening their understanding of the revolutionary principles of the new society we are all working so hard

to create," the SPPF Deputy Secretary-General said.

It was only by doing this with conviction, Mr Michel added, that members of the Seychelles People's Militia would earn the respect of their communities and make their organisation a force in which the people had confidence.

West Mahé, which includes Port Glaud, Grand'Anse, Anse Boileau, Anse Louis and Baie Lazare districts, is the fourth of the island's five militia regions to start training under the continuing reorganisation of the force that was launched in September last year.

The Central, North and South regions are at various stages of training.

Yesterday's meeting at Anse Boileau was also attended by Mrs Sylvette Frichot, the SPPF Secretary for Information and Culture and the party's Principal Co-ordinator, Major Philip Lucas, the National Commander of the Seychelles People's Militia, and his adjutant Lieutenant Jason Jacqueline.

CSO: 3400/607

SOUTH AFRICA

NGK DECISION ON INTERNATIONAL TIES CRITICIZED

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 6 Jan 85 p 12

[Editorial: "Unfortunate"]

[Text] It was an unfortunate decision made by the plenary executive council of the NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] to suspend ties with the Reformed Ecumenical Synod [GES], pending a final decision next year by the General Synod of the NGK.

Even if the General Synod were to decide to maintain membership in the GES, what has happened could seriously hamper future relations.

For all practical purposes, the NGK is now isolated, because the GES is the last international ecclesiastical body of which the NGK was a full member. The implications can be far-reaching, not only for the NGK, but also for other members within the Dutch Reformed family which have supported and assisted the NGK in Ottawa as well as in Chicago. It might seem that the NGK in Africa in particular has been left in the lurch.

The reasons given by the plenary executive council are unconvincing. What is apparently at issue is that the GES refused to appoint an investigatory commission to look into certain fundamental grievances regarding GES positions. But Professor John Heyns of the University of Pretoria is entirely right in questioning whether the NGK for its part presented its grievances in a statement.

It is moreover incomprehensible that this decision has been made now, in view of the fact that the General Synod is meeting next year, when the NGK's position can be formulated again. In contrast, the GES is not meeting until 1988, which means that the GES cannot reconsider its positions now.

In virtually every realm, South Africa is fighting against isolation. In the ecclesiastical realm, virtually the only voice heard in the world is that of Dr Alan Boesak and Bishop Desmond Tutu. It is thus a shame that this decision was made, obviously based on the attitude of one person who feels that there are advantages to be gained from the planned establishment of a new ecumenical body, the extent and influence of which are unknown factors.

12271
CSO: 3401/72

SOUTH AFRICA

POLITICAL PROSPECTS IN 1985 FOR NAMIBIA EXAMINED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 2 Jan 85 p 6

[Editorial: "Less Hope for Peace"]

[Text] Judging from signs from the last few days, 1985 does not hold out to South-West Africa a particularly large degree of hope for a peaceful political settlement. The bombing of the Ondangwa post office indicates that SWAPO is determined to continue with its policy of random violence against anyone and everyone in South-West Africa, and that it wishes to hold this up to the world as "part of the struggle for independence."

Sam Nujoma announced in Tunis that he is prepared to talk to the "racist South African government," but only about the implementation of Resolution 435 and the withdrawal of South African forces from South-West Africa. SWAPO thus wants to continue as usual.

Perhaps a more important sign was the New Year's message by President Dos Santos of Angola, in which he rejected American plans for a coalition government with UNITA in his country.

Because, as America mercifully after all recognizes, peace in South-West Africa is inseparably tied to developments north of the Kunene, as well as in other Southern African countries. It is a fact that roughly half of SWAPO's armed forces are employed against UNITA. As long as the civil war in Angola continues, they--as well as many thousands of Cubans--will continue to be necessary to the MPLA.

President Dos Santos also made it clear that he--or his sponsors in the Kremlin--are not interested in a reasonable settlement for Angola. He does not want to admit that the civil war is not being waged only for ideological reasons, but that it also--and perhaps primarily--has ethnic origins. And in spite of the ever-worsening economy of his ravaged country, he wants to establish his authority over the territory, without decentralization of power or compromise with other population groups.

As long as Angola keeps to this disastrous course, there is no hope for rationality with respect to South-West Africa. Sam Nujoma accordingly makes big

statements: "No halfway measures." This in spite of SWAPO's lack of military successes and the fact that 60 percent of the men in uniform who are fighting against his murder squads are black.

He is not interested in avoiding a second Angola in South-West Africa, but will, for the sake of a position of authority, continue to do everything in his power to plunge his native country into misery.

12271

CSO: 3401/73

SOUTH AFRICA

PAPER DISCUSSES MANDELA'S ROLE AFTER BOTHA OFFER

MB071852 Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 31 Jan 85 p 20

[Editorial: "Mandela's Role and the Forum Idea"]

[Text] The government's plan for a forum for dialogue with urban blacks on their constitutional future has forced the spotlight to be turned once again on Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

In the process, THE WASHINGTON POST published an interview with Mandela 2 days ago in which the black leader, who has been in prison for 20 years for contravening the country's security laws, revealed a totally different attitude to that of two decades ago.

In its editorial THE WASHINGTON POST also reasons that Mandela's statements indicate a readiness for political negotiation with the government. Whether or not it can be accepted after all these years that Mandela is still the undisputed leader of the ANC, it is certainly not a foregone conclusion regarding the man who, in certain circles abroad, is seen as the only true voice and conscience of the blacks of South Africa.

This is so because, in the interim, there has been a shift in ideological emphasis--one in which the Communist Party of South Africa [SACP], with whites like Joe Slovo in leadership positions, has tightened its grip on the ANC as an instrument of the Red ideology.

And the SACP would not like to see Mandela involved in negotiations with the South African Government, simply because negotiations are not part of the communist agenda for Southern Africa. This is undoubtedly a factor which can bring Mandela's position within the ANC into question.

But, having said that, it remains a fact that the black leader can still play an important role in lending momentum to the idea of a forum. [Words indistinct] can only happen if Mandela and the ANC first turn their backs on violence, because it remains the government's position that negotiations are completely out of the question with an organization that allies itself with terrorism and violence as a means of overthrowing the existing order.

It remains a moot point whether it is still possible for the ANC to reject anarchy. The SACP has seen to it that it maintains a firm grip on the organization. Nevertheless, it is an interesting and significant development that Mandela is now moving in the direction of negotiation.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER URGES MANDELA TO CONSIDER PRESIDENT'S OFFER

MB051200 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 85 p 10

[Editorial: "Mandela Offer: The Implications"]

[Text] The President's offer to release Mr Nelson Mandela is staggering in its simplicity, but complex in its consequences. Only extremists could argue with the terms for Mr Mandela's release which have been set by Mr Botha's Government. We are inclined to agree with the president that the choice of staying in jail or leaving is now up to Mr Mandela, and with Mrs Suzman that it will influence Mr Mandela's choice favourably if his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, was unbanned and no longer restricted to Brandfort.

It would be naive to believe that Mr Mandela faces an easy choice. He has spent 22 years in prison vowing not to abandon the armed struggle against apartheid--indeed, it has been his very steadfastness in this matter that has built him into the martyred hero he has become. If he now abandons his stance he might also be abandoning his constituency. And what reasons could he give for changing his views? Has the government changed sufficiently for him to be able to say that the struggle has moved into a new phase? Have the fundamentals that made him abandon peaceful political means in favour of violence now altered dramatically?

Angry and impatient black people in South Africa will seek a different leader if Mr Mandela changes from a hawk to a dove overnight. Yet we must urge him to consider the president's offer most carefully: If Mr Botha can make the effort, Mr Mandela should try hard to make a similar effort in the hope that it can bring peace between black and white in this country. At the same time it is vital that the government take further steps to remove the grievances which led to armed struggle in the first place.

There has never been a better opportunity for reconciliation between the African National Congress and the government. A truce between the two would open up a new debate, and that debate would have as its goal a lasting constitution acceptable to all South Africans. It is a goal worth striving for.

CSO: 3400/595

SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER MULLS REASONS FOR MANDELA REFUSAL

MB151037 Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 12 Feb 85 p. 12

[Editorial: "Mandela Says No"]

[Text] From whatever angle one looks at Nelson Mandela's reply to the state president's offer for his release, the final result is that he refused to comply with the conditions set for his release.

What one can speculate on is the question of whether Mandela had the final say in rejecting the state president's offer, which was made public by his daughter at a large United Democratic Front [UDF] meeting this weekend. That a meeting of the UDF is used to publicize an ANC leader's decision is in itself significant especially in the light of the UDF's saintly denial that it has any ties with terror organizations or the South African Communist Party.

Nevertheless, this development should also be an indication of the way in which a front which deviates from the path of peaceful negotiations is now busy closing its ranks.

For this front it is least of all convenient that Mandela should be out of prison. As long as he is there he can be regarded as the martyr who sacrifices his valuable freedom for those who want to overthrow the white government of this country; and he is out of the way of elements within and close to the ANC who have made the organization a lackey of the communists in the past 2 decades.

For South Africa the division between those who seek peaceful solutions and those who see no alternative to violence cannot be averted.

Mandela or those who speak on his behalf are not the first who believe that bloody violence is unavoidable. There are people of all races, here and elsewhere, who acknowledge that standpoint.

Our impression indeed is that the number who are prepared to try peaceful alternatives is growing--just as is the realization that there can be no winner in a real confrontation in South Africa.

CSO: 3401/101

SOUTH AFRICA

NEWS FOCUS EXAMINES BLACK POLITICS

MB081122 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 6 Feb 85

[News Focus program titled "Black Political Trends" presented by A.J. Scholtz--video recorded]

[Text] Good evening. State President P.W. Botha declared last week that he would consider releasing former ANC leader Nelson Mandela provided he is prepared to unconditionally foreswear violence as a political instrument. The announcement by Mr Botha poses the question: What position does South Africa's most renowned prisoner hold in the black community after 22 years of uninterrupted imprisonment and what would the reaction be to his possible release?

The recent visit to South Africa by Senator Ted Kennedy demonstrated that the black population in South Africa is politically anything but united. He was invited by the United Democratic Front [UDF], but given a dressing down by Chief Buthelezi and jeered by the Azanian People's Organization [AZAPO]. As with the divergent reaction over the Kennedy visit, the position of Mr Mandela today among the blacks can only be understood if we can focus on the full spectrum of black politics.

Three streams will be identified: The Charterists, the Africanists, and a third which, with certain reservations, can be labelled the Pragmatists. The Charterists are that stream of the ANC which was established as a political party as early as 1912. The term Charterists is taken from the so-called Freedom Charter of Freedom Manifesto, which in 1955 was accepted as one of the basic policy documents of the congress. That happened at a meeting in Kliptown of the four affiliated congress groups representing the four racial groups, including the tiny Congress of Democrats for whites. The Freedom Charter was at that time considered to be a revolutionary document, but the publications board decided last year that it could be published openly. It states, inter alia, that South Africa belongs to all its people, white and black; recognizes the existence of what were labelled individual national groups with equal rights to existence and the protection of their own languages and cultures; and calls for the so-called peaceful democratization of the community. [Video recordings of various acts of violence--the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation plant 1980, Voortrekkerhoogte 1981, Bloemfontein 1983, and mobil oil depot 1984]

However, in sharp contrast to the peaceful intentions of the charter, the ANC has since then opted for a violent road of terror. After the Sharpeville unrest in 1960, the ANC was banned, and it then established the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which aimed at the violent overthrow of the government. In a second policy document entitled "Strategy and Tactics" in the early 70s, the ANC formally accepted violent revolution as the method it would use for so-called liberation--a policy which is still valid. The Church Street explosion in Pretoria in 1983, in which 19 people died, is only one of the attacks for which the ANC has claimed responsibility. After that, it declared that in future it would also attack civil targets. It is estimated that, during the past year, the ANC has committed more than 100 acts of terrorism in South Africa. [Video of Pretoria Church Street bomb blast, 1983]

Mandela, a founder member and leader of Umkhonto, was traced and detained by the police while recruiting underground for Umkhonto. In the sensational Rivonia case of 1964, Mandela and seven others, including the white communist Denis Goldberg, were sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage. Can he have changed his attitude towards violence in the meantime?

[Prof Dirk Kotze, University of South Africa] Mandela has been described as a pragmatist and a good strategist. He is also described as a social democratic nationalist, and one can deduce from this that he does not believe in the efficacy and merits of violence as such, but one can expect him, as a good strategist, to lose face if he renounces violence.

[Professor C.T.D. Marivate, University of South Africa, in English] I do not think he will find it very easy to accept the condition as laid down unconditionally because in his mind things have not substantially changed. So he will find it very difficult to accept the offer. We do not have an open society yet, and this is what he stood for. So he will find it very difficult to change his stand.

[Scholtz] With gratitude to the ANC, the United Democratic Front [UDF] was formed 2 years ago with an initial limited aim of among other things, to fight the new constitutional tricameral dispensation. The UDF, an umbrella organization with 600 affiliated organization's leaders and patrons, is composed with a few exceptions all former ANC activists and the majority of its organizations support the Freedom Charter. In agreement with this, it follows a policy of nonracialism or color blindness and it has close relations with white bodies such as the National Union of South African Students [NUSAS] and the Black Sash. In contrast to the ANC, the UDF really stands for peaceful change and it is allowed to operate legally.

[Prof Dirk Kotze] In the meantime, a second stream, namely the Africanist stream within the ANC began to grow and resist the increasing participation of white liberalists and especially communistic inputs in the ANC's resistance campaign of the 50s. This has led to the splitting of these Africanists in the form of the Pan-African Congress [PAC] in 1959 and the PAC joined the ANC in the 60s in violence after it was banned together with the ANC.

[Scholtz] Like the ANC, the PAC continued to exist underground even though its ideals were embodied in other bodies. One such emerging forum was the black consciousness movement of the 70s as embodied in the South African Students Organization [SASO] and the BPC [Black People's Convention].

Under the slogan: "Black man you are on your own," self-help, self-establishment, and self-esteem were the objectives of black consciousness. When SASO and the BPC were banned in 1977, the Azanian People's Organization [AZAPO] was established as a new forum for black consciousness. According to black-power policy, AZAPO is exclusively black. No whites are allowed as members of the organization. Its PAC forebears' strong dislike of communism and Marxism was in fact abandoned by AZAPO. A strong socialistic state with a workers' possession of all production resources is now the strongest policy priority of AZAPO. AZAPO and the UDF differ thus in the relations regarding whites and in the former's black socialism, regarding the ideologically more neutral stance of the UDF. There are also clear agreement between the two.

[Prof Dirk Kotze] The main agreement between the UDF on the one hand and AZAPO on the other lies in the methods of political action. Both these organizations follow basically a peaceful opposition outside the system. They are both bound to nonviolence activities but support opposition and noncooperation with any of the structures set up by the government, be it at central or local level.

[Scholtz] The third main stream of black politics can be described as pragmatic. These include all the parties in the national states and local black authorities who in contrast to the previously mentioned two streams are prepared to cooperate with government-created institutions for whatever reason. Inkatha, the ruling party in Kwazulu with its 1 million members, is by far the largest and most influential of these organizations, indeed possibly of all black organizations here.

[Kortze] Inkatha is a mass organization which works within the system with a view to changing South African policy in important areas. It follows a pragmatic strategy although in some respects it differs from certain other organizations in South Africa. It used the colors of the ANC, yellow, black, and green, and it follows at the moment basically the same sort of policy which the ANC followed then, namely a sort of social democracy.

[Scholtz] Inkatha is being heavily attacked by the ANC, UDF, and AZAPO because it is labelled as a collaborator with the apartheid system. Inkatha spokesmen say that its participation in the system is also aimed at hindering its final implementation. Its policy states that it will not accept independence and thus seek political accommodation within an undivided South Africa. In the meantime, it practices negotiation and peaceful cooperation and for it it is realistic and pragmatically necessary to campaign for the immediate needs and development of its people, for example, better work opportunity and education. In the whole spectrum of black politics, Mandela is at least recognized as a symbolic leader by one

of the three streams, the Charterists. What is the possibility that he will accept the president's offer, and how will his possible freedom be treated by black people here?

[Kotze] The consequences of Mandela's release could be that he would again become active in South African politics, that he would become a symbolic leader of all groups, black groups, cannot be accepted. It could, for example, be possible that he could become active in South Africa, but the ANC will continue with its activities and the two will have nothing to do with each other. It is my belief that it is unlikely that Buthelezi would back Mandela, but one can accept that he will have significant support among the blacks.

[Marivate in English] Well it will be difficult to judge his support today because he has been removed from society for 22 years, but he has acquired support, a lot of support, especially among the black youth. But again it is difficult to say whether this support is symbolic or real. If he is released on the basis of nonviolence, it is possible that he could have great support or he could just disappear. But the only way I see it that would make sense actually is to unban the ANC if it is also prepared to renounce violence, then this would give Mandela a base to work from.

CSO: 3401/97

SOUTH AFRICA

POSSIBILITY OF TALKS WITH ANC DISCUSSED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 21 Dec 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Talks With the ANC?"]

[Text] The findings of the most recent opinion poll by the RGN [Human Sciences Research Council] concerning white political attitudes can of course be interpreted in various ways. There will also be those who would simply brush the findings aside.

Without reading too much into the findings, however, it is clear that the dividing lines for certain matters certainly do not correspond to the present state of political parties in the House of Assembly. This confirms the tendency towards political fluidity which is in progress as part of a large political reorganization phase.

The other thing that is obvious is that nearly the same number of white South Africans believe that negotiations with the ANC should begin as those who believe that such negotiations are odious. The conclusion that these two groups are almost equal in strength confirms the observation that more and more white South Africans, including a significant number of Afrikaners and Nationalists, feel that the day for negotiations is rapidly approaching.

The realization that whites alone cannot decide the future of all fellow countrymen is a good beginning for bargaining. Of course, it will be difficult for the government and the ANC in their present forms to be able to begin talks such as these. It is with good reason that voices have been raised in government circles that the ANC must first renounce violence. The counterdemand could also be raised that the government must first show its sincerity in making a complete break with apartheid and discrimination, possibly through a symbolic act which would incorporate the deletion of various laws, or the relaxation of limitations on the ANC and on its leadership.

Such developments could pave the way for a domestic powwow. And negotiation towards a compromise is the only thing that is going to keep the violent wind in South Africa from reaching the hurricane strength of Lebanon or Northern Ireland.

Last week, DIE VOLKSBLAD reported on a conversation with the ANC leadership in Lusaka. From this it was clear that there is a considerable common basis for conducting talks. Whoever misses or slights these opportunities will have to bear the blame for what is then reaped.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON MANDELA, ANC VIOLENCE

MB011600 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 1 Feb 85

[Station commentary: "Nelson Mandela and the ANC"]

[Text] The offer to release Nelson Mandela creates a dilemma for the radical body in South Africa and abroad that has turned the former ANC leader into a cult figure over the years.

In Parliament this week, President P.W. Botha offered to release Mandela without any restrictions, the single proviso being one with which no believer in democracy would find fault. The proviso is that Mandela would have to undertake unconditionally to refrain from having any party in violence as a means for achieving political [word indistinct]. Since that is the fundamental prerequisite for democracy anywhere to exist, the Mandela cultist can hardly object. After all, their claim all the years has been that he is essentially a democrat whose chief concern is for the political and economic advancement of his people.

How Mandela himself will respond remains to be seen. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 after being found guilty on charges of plotting and engaging in acts of revolutionary subversion and terrorism. In his judgment at the time, the Supreme Court judge noted that the sentence was a light one. Normally for crimes of the kind of which Mandela had been found guilty the death sentence would be imposed. Since then there has been much speculation, most of it uninformed and transparently political in its motive, about whether Mandela has given up his commitment to violence as a political weapon.

According to Lord Bethell, a member of the British House of Lords who visited Mandela in prison last month, he shows no remorse for the activities for which he was tried and believes the ANC's present campaign of terrorism is justified.

On the other hand, Mrs Helen Suzman, an opposition member of Parliament, said this week that Mandela had offered on behalf of the ANC what she calls a truce if the government would legalize the organization and negotiate with it.

It is known, of course, that the ANC has been forced to reconsider its terrorism campaign since the signing of the Nkomati Accord last year. The clampdown on it by southern African countries throws into sharp relief the extent to which it had always had to rely on foreign bases and government support to sustain that campaign. Within a few months the incidence of terrorism in South Africa committed by groups from across the border had declined sharply. At the same time, the ANC leadership found itself under pressure in southern Africa and elsewhere over its [word indistinct] Soviet ideology and even its credibility as a so-called revolutionary organization had obviously had no chance of succeeding in its aims.

Since then there has been evidence of a desire to raise the ANC profile as a political rather than a revolutionary movement. Hence the growing demand for the ANC to be legalized in order to take part freely in South African politics.

Mandela's offer of a truce is significant in that context. The real question, of course, is whether Mandela and the organization he represents are genuinely prepared to abandon violence, and that is the question Mandela now has to answer.

CSO: 3400/595

SOUTH AFRICA

ARTICLE VIEWS ANC POWER-SHARING

MB100907 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Feb 85 p 20

[Article by Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Center for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal: "To Share...or Not To Share?"]

[Text] South African politics are edging towards a crossroads which, after centuries, could draw our divided and fragmented society together into a more cohesive and legitimate system for all groups.

It could also take a turn towards heightened conflict, polarisation, strife and economic decay. The wisdom of all political leaders in the next 5 years will be tested as never before.

This trend of events is most clearly crystallised in the president's conditional offer to release Nelson Mandela, and certain other political prisoners, held for almost 25 years. This dramatic offer has been both welcomed and rejected (by both the CP [Conservative Party], on the right, and Azapo on the left) amid considerable uncertainty and confusion. The diversity of possible implications can boggle the mind.

Before considering the uncertainties, the more rational and logical issues must be listed.

Political processes in South Africa can never become "normal" while the ANC and its leaders are in prison or in exile.

The South African political anatomy is very robust in the white, brown and black sectors, but with the ANC excluded there is a vital organ missing.

The ANC illustrates the persistence of history. As the longest-established nation-wide black political tradition, it cannot be replaced. This is not to say that very viable black leadership cannot be found elsewhere.

It is simply that the other parts cannot function properly and with full legitimacy while so symbolic a part is missing.

There are significant communities and classes in black South Africa which will refuse, in perpetuity, to be represented by anyone other than the ANC. 'Absent' leaders, Ike De Gaulle or Khomeini, acquire a mystique and charisma of baffling power.

Widespread international recognition of the ANC means that the credentials of other black leaders are constantly questioned abroad. Other significant spokesmen for black South Africa are not listened to as they should be.

While excluded, the ANC thus creates a vacuum in the political system which is filled by caretakers who are unable to accept full responsibility for the people they presume to lead. Perhaps they themselves do not even know whether or not the attention they get from opponents of the South African Government both here and abroad is because of their own contributions, or because of the missing party they inevitably symbolise--the ANC.

All too easily, the South African Government can look at relatively small turnouts at their township meetings and condemn them as self-appointed leaders.

The symbolic replacements of the ANC, whether they wish to or not operate with part of the historic image of the ANC. The UDF, for example, has had to deny publicly that it is an internal formation linked to the ANC.

With this image, such organisations can create excitement and expectations, but the question arises as to whether or not they have the coherence and the linkages with black communities to negotiate with the government and gain acceptance for the compromises which negotiation will inevitably lead to.

While the ANC and its leaders are exiled and imprisoned, it is left with very little alternative but to adopt a strategy of insurgency. Its own leadership and traditions become distorted, if not hijacked by strategic necessity.

It is forced into a hot conflict, not only with the South African Government, but with other legitimate black leaders who, because they are internally located, have to adopt a totally different strategy.

In this sense it is probably very true to say that releasing the ANC to operate openly would or could defuse the possibility of violent conflict.

In the same context (trap might be a better word) the government is forced to harshly condemn the ANC for acts which no government can tolerate.

Dennis Beckett (Frontline, February 1985) summed up the consequences: "Every time Minister Louis le Grange opens his mouth to denounce the ANC, he leaves more people with the subconscious idea that the ANC is the ordained alternative.

"If the ANC had hired Le Grange as a public relations officer he could not have done a better job for them."

Public images of black politics are affected in other ways as well. Opinion polls are a political reality. These polls always show the ANC with very substantial support, and clear majority support in some areas of the country.

Yet, while it is banned and its leaders are ex-communicado, serious analysts never know what this means. Opinion polls compare like with unlike.

The ANC is endorsed as a symbol and a promise; other leaders are judged as fallible organisers struggling against political constraints.

Thus there can be no doubt that very powerful, rational arguments exist for the unbanning of the ANC and the release and return of its legitimate leaders.

Furthermore, as a society theoretically committed to Western democratic values, we have no moral right to exclude so significant an actor as the ANC.

What are the uncertainties that this prospect holds? They all relate to the fact that the framework of government policy and that of the ANC are still very far apart.

Is negotiation possible, even if the ANC rejects violence? To release Mandela and not negotiate with him and his colleagues would defeat the whole purpose of his release.

One may point out that, as yet, the government has not negotiated on South African constitutional matters with the Butheleze Commission. It did not negotiate with the Urban Councils Association of South Africa on the new black municipal dispensation.

It has negotiated with Mozambique and other surrounding states and on the issue of Namibia. As yet, however, it has not negotiated on any issue impinging on the political power of whites in the common area of South Africa.

The closest it has come is some negotiation (through the President's Council and a Cabinet Committee) with coloured and Indian politicians regarding the recently-established constitution. This, however, was within a framework of the nonegotiability of anything other than full white control over white affairs, and overriding white power in the common affairs of the country.

Since other black leaders, like Chief Buthelezi and the Committee of Ten, have refused to negotiate within such a framework, it is hardly likely that the ANC would find it acceptable.

The crucial question, then, is whether or not the policy framework of the government is shifting sufficiently to open the door to negotiations. In essence, the question is whether the government is willing to negotiate about real power-sharing (which is not necessarily one-man-one-vote).

The effective answer cannot be given at this juncture, not even by the government itself. But the government certainly has moved right to the very threshold of the decision.

A similar sort of question can be put to the ANC leaders, and all other black and brown leaders in South Africa.

Will they be prepared to negotiate within a framework which could imply real power-sharing in all South Africa, but which will preserve for a white ethnic bloc the coherence and ability to effectively limit threatening demands?

At this stage, the resolution of South Africa's conflicts, whatever the precise constitutional form might be, depends on both the white government and significant black leadership--which must include the ANC--accepting a framework of real powersharing, but with entrenched limitations on the overriding power of any group or class vis-a-vis any other.

This is the "politics of accommodation," to borrow a phrase from the Dutch political scientist Lijphart.

It means simply that all groups have full political status and citizenship, and that all major groups are constitutionally and politically strong enough to have to be included in all common decision-making.

No group, however, is constitutionally and politically able to override any other group. From this framework, open non-ethnic democracy can gradually emerge, as it has done in the Netherlands, Austria and, in a sense, in the U.S.A. The possibility of the release of Nelson Mandela has brought this issue right to the forefront.

To avoid the road that leads to gradual decay in our society, his release and inclusion in political negotiation is essential.

Equally essential, however, is that all major South African leaders, black and white, accept a framework of accommodation and compromise.

CSO: 3400/595

SOUTH AFRICA

SWEDEN'S FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER WARNS FIRMS AGAINST INVESTING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by Kaa Eneberg]

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Mats Hellstrom raised a warning flag, in a letter to the Riksdag, aimed at a number of Swedish firms who were guilty in 1983 of violating the almost 5-year-old law forbidding new investments in South Africa.

"The firms have now had enough experience with this law that it ought to be possible to avoid deviations from it in the future," Mats Hellstrom said in the letter, which landed on the discussion table in the Riksdag on Friday.

The foreign trade minister, who proposed a tightening down on this law in the Foreign Affairs Committee on Friday, said that he thinks however that the law, according to the authorities in charge of setting limits--the Commerce Committee--is generally adhered to fairly well.

Four Exemptions Granted

The yearly report rendered to the Riksdag by the Swedish Union of Corporations indicates that in 1983 the government granted exemptions from the ban to four firms. Sandvik and Swedish Ball Bearings (SKF) were each allowed to invest sums of at least five million kronor. The non-socialist government had refused requests from both of the firms on this matter days before the 1982 elections. Since 1979, when the law went into effect, fifteen exemptions have been granted, amounting to a total investment of 35 million kronor.

The basic rule is followed that new investments requiring the exemption should not contribute to the growth of the Union of Corporations.

With the support of the Commerce Committee's observations in setting limits, the government maintains that certain observations can be made as regards a number of firms.

Swedish Ball Bearings (SKF) says that it has not yet reported the total costs for the procurement of the desired investments, and that in one case, involving the procurement of video equipment at a cost of 30,000 kronor, it did not ask for an exemption.

It has been observed, however, that the investments have contributed towards better working conditions for employees, and that there is no reason to "suspect that the investments occurred under circumstances which would be punishable by law."

Violation

Esselte's South African daughter company is known to have granted a long-term loan to a South African firm without the knowledge or approval of the parent company. This is an obvious violation of the South African law, according to Mats Hellstrom, who has declined, however, to further prosecute, since Esselte has requested that the daughter firm "correct the situation."

One of the daughter companies of Alfa Laval has remitted a minor debt which the daughter company owed to the parent company. This kind of transaction is not allowed, but is not in direct conflict with the law, since the company is inactive at present, according to the government spokesmen.

The number of Swedish Alfa Laval firms subject to review in South Africa went down from twelve to eleven in 1983. A number of the firms have sold off all of, or parts of, their inactive daughter companies.

The eleven firms owned a total of 32 companies in South Africa and Namibia, one-half of which had been termed "inactive." The Swedish daughter companies reported a total of 63 million kronor in share capital.

This figure indicates an increase of 2.5 million kronor. The company's own capital rose insignificantly, up to 430 million kronor. On the other hand, sales went down 7 percent, to 1.8 billion kronor. The number of employees in the Swedish company went down from 3,143 to 2,880 persons.

PHOTO CAPTION [photo not reproduced]

1. Foreign Trade Minister Mats Hellstrom had accusations to make against SKF, Esselte and Alfa Laval.

9584

CSO: 3650/134

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF OVER-INFLATING MONEY SUPPLY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Jan 85 p 13

[Article by Bill Levitt]

[Text]

The government is destroying the fundamentals of the South African economy by printing too many rands and trying to control the money supply through interest rates — a tactic abandoned by other Western nations, says economist Dr Frank Shostak.

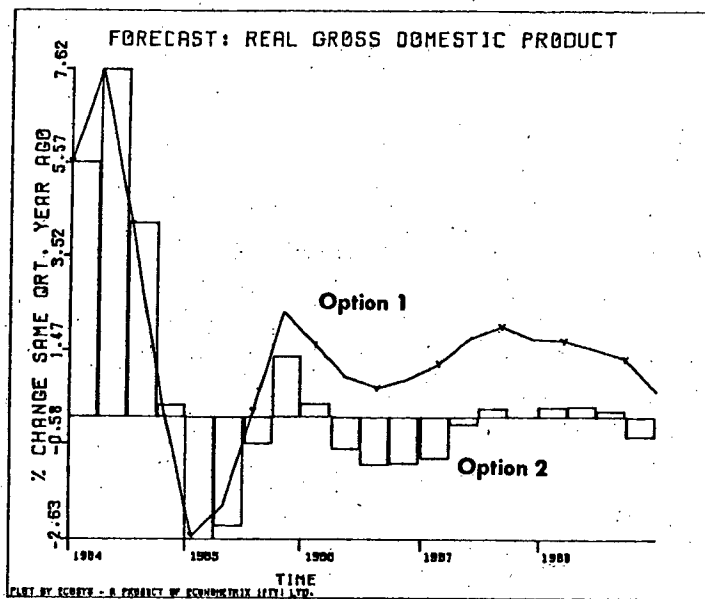
The main problem is money supply, which grew 42 percent in the first 11 months of last year against a US growth rate of 7 percent, the head of Econometrix, an economic research unit, told a news conference yesterday.

"The government is destroying the fundamentals of the SA economy... and its (monetary and fiscal) policies are sick."

Over the next four years the result will be disastrous, with continued high inflation, a rand that could plunge to \$0.25 and incredibly high unemployment, says Dr Shostak.

The government has insisted that it is pursuing a tight monetary policy but Dr Shostak, a free market disciple, disagrees.

Nowhere in the world are countries printing money as wildly, operating at such low productivity levels and experiencing such high inflation, he emphasised.



CONTROLS

Following the first oil crisis, the West responded by printing money but the resulting inflation cramped their economies. The US, Japan and West Germany have controlled inflation in recent years by sharply reducing the growth of their money supply.

Controls to halt the slide of the rand or protect local industries are not the answer. They are expensive to maintain, create too many bureaucratic problems and are treating the symptoms, not the money supply

problem, he said.

Another distressing factor is that government's bite of the total economic pie will soon be 26 percent, a figure that has been growing steadily.

"We are heading towards a semi-socialist state while the Western world is going the other way," Dr Shostak said. Instead of allowing the economy to grow, it is being stifled.

In this climate, low interest rates are out of the question but high rates don't affect money supply.

If the banks have the money, they lend it out and businessmen take it no matter what the rate is.

"Individuals aren't concerned with interest rates, they're concerned with cash flow," he said, emphasising that businessmen in trouble will do anything — including taking loans at high rates — to stay alive.

Dr Shostak recommends that the Reserve Bank answer to cabinet only and not the treasury, that government depart-

ments trim budgets to the bone, that government reduce the money supply, introduce the cash base concept and cut taxes.

On the gold front, Dr Shostak sees continued low prices.

DECLINING

The two main factors are the depressed oil prices and the world's shift away from socialism — a situation that means more stability, more healthy economies and less demand for the precious metal.

Gold will fall somewhere between \$270-300, real domestic growth will be negative until 1988 and balance of payments would remain anaemic because exports are performing spectacularly in rand terms while actually declining in dollar terms.

Inflation, as measured by government statisticians, could reach close to 18 percent this year but Dr Shostak said that his figures — using a broader set of indicators — shows inflation at close to 35 percent.

CSO: 3400/593

SOUTH AFRICA

RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL TERMED 'ABNORMALLY CLOSE'

East Burnham ARABIA in English Dec 84 p 39

[Text]

A candidate for "Joke of the Year" that might well prove to be a winner is the statement made by South African Foreign Minister R F Botha during a visit to Tel Aviv recently. Israel and Africa, he declared, "recognise that we must not create the impression that we are that close together because it is not true." Their relations should not be regarded as "anything but normal."

This at least shows that the two countries, who have lately been quite shameless about their close cooperation, still cannot help recognising that the

relationship in itself is shameful. Israeli officials were insisting that Botha, who had lengthy talks with his Israeli counterpart and talked to many parliamentarians and high-level officials, was on a strictly private visit. This "private affair" included a very official dinner with Shamir and undisclosed items on his programme may have included talks with Rabin, the defence minister.

However, Botha has given no consolation to the few states in Africa which were more or less pressured into breaking the blockade of Israel by black African countries. What is disturbing to those countries is not only that relations between the two racist systems (as they were voted by the UN) are abnormally close, which is true, but that they have even normal relations. Africans are worried by the solid support Israel is giving the apartheid regime and see more than a coincidental similarity in the timing and the tactics used in the invasion of Lebanon and those used in the invasion of Angola and Mozambique.

CSO: 3400/593

SOUTH AFRICA

INTRA-AFRICAN SOLUTIONS, COOPERATION ADVOCATED

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 27 Dec 84 p 8

[Editorial: "African Government"]

[Text] In his provoking article "Unity Through One Party?" published Monday in BEELD, Professor Arrie van Rensburg addresses Africa's search for a characteristic, pertinent governmental system for the continent.

South Africa's establishment of a new constitutional dispensation is resounding proof of the recognition that Western democracy is simply not of use in an African society, but it is certainly not the first such proof. Other African countries--which had in fact been ruled for years under these Western systems--expressed their disenchantment with it by falling back into one-party structures, or, as some choose to call it, one-party democracies.

For white South Africans taught to view the multiparty system as the beginning and end of all forms of democracy, it sounds like a complete contradiction to use the word democracy in connection with a one-party state. And yet, white South Africans of all groups have over the last 36 years willingly thrown themselves behind one party more and more, to the extent that it could even be said that South Africa today has all the disadvantages of a one-party system without one single advantage. (For example, a weak member of parliament still cannot be ousted without the fear that the party will be set back.)

Now, the above does not mean that BEELD is going to suddenly begin advocating a one-party system for South Africa. What we do wish to emphasize on the basis of Professor Van Rensburg's article is how foolish it would be for all African nationalists not to shake hands, or at least talk with one another, seeking solutions, especially here in Southern Africa where all the complexities of the continent are present.

One thing is certain: we will not find our solutions in the council chambers of Europe or in the debates at the United Nations, but here on our own continent. Africans of all color and beliefs would be foolish if they did not yet believe this.

12271
CSO: 3401/72

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW LANDING RIGHTS REFLECT DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 3 Jan 85 p 12

[Editorial: "New Doors"]

[Text] In spite of the vehemence of the international attacks against South Africa, there are nevertheless countries that are ready to cooperate with us. Whenever mutual interests can also promote self-interest, most countries are not prepared to put ideological principles above healthy business principles.

For understandable reasons, South Africa does not dare proclaim all its connections with other countries from the housetops. Nevertheless, one hears from time to time about things such as collective mealie imports, which can be to the advantage of some of our neighboring states; about railroad agreements which mean that South African trains play a key role even as far as Zaire in the building of the Southern and Central African economy; about technical assistance in a variety of areas.

All of this accentuates the impression that diplomacy is something that takes place on two levels: a public level, which can sometimes be rather rowdy and pugnacious, and a level of "quiet diplomacy," where sometimes remarkable cases of cooperation and aid can occur.

Thanks to "quiet diplomacy," for example, America can enter into talks with Russia--and with South Africa. Similarly, South Africa can maintain continuous contact with most countries in Africa, even if some of them are audibly joining in the international chorus against us.

Mr Pik Botha's recent confirmation that landing rights for South African airplanes have been obtained on the Comoro Islands, as well as in Somalia and Saudi Arabia, is the most recent example of the spectacular successes that quiet diplomacy can bring about.

This not only makes possible a more favorable flight path to the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean countries, but also connects South Africa with peoples who have up to now been largely strangers to it, if not even enemies.

That Saudi Arabia is playing such a key role in the new route is not only a triumph for healthy trade practice, but also an acknowledgement of the fact that thousands of South African Moslems make pilgrimages to Saudi Arabia every year. But the biggest miracle of all is the possibility that flights will be made to Jewish-ruled Israel via Moslem-ruled Saudi Arabia.

The days of diplomatic miracles are apparently not over yet.

12271

CSO: 3401/72

SOUTH AFRICA

ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATISATION DISCUSSED

Pretoria SOUTH AFRICAN DIGEST in English 11 Jan 85 p 23

[Text]

Considerable benefit can be derived from the reduction of activities in the public sector, Professor Robert Gidlow of the University of the Witwatersrand, says in the latest edition of the Bank of Lisbon's *Economic Focus*.

According to Professor Gidlow, the most important factor that could make privatisation in South Africa an important policy in the future, is the tax position of the treasury, which has worsened over past years with rising state expenditure.

Privatisation of semi-state bodies could reduce the subsidisation of any institutions that incur great losses. A second advantage is that finance for new investments would not have to be provided by the treasury.

The additional income from the sale of state assets would undoubtedly improve the position of the treasury.

Professor Gidlow also believes that "the scope for the sale of state assets in South Africa is such that it will stretch over many years". This will bring about a change in the structure of the capital market, that will place less pressure on shares with fixed interest.

Further benefits of privatisation are that it will lead to increased competition and wider consumer choice, greater efficiency, and it would have a healthy effect on inflation. It will also broaden shareholding in the community.

Die Burger, January 7

12 March 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

REWARDS OFFERED FOR CAPTURE OF SWAPO MEMBERS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Jan 85 p 2

[Text]

THE South African Defence Force in South Africa/Namibia has offered "bounties" for the capture of Swapo guerrillas or information about their movements, according to a report by the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC).

The report, released in Pretoria this week, says the authorities are willing to pay the following scale of rewards for the capture of Swapo members: R20 000 for a Swapo commandant, R10 000 for a

Swapo official, R2 000 for an ordinary guerrilla, R1 000 for information on a guerrilla's whereabouts and R200 for locating a landmine.

South West African Territory Force headquarters in Windhoek told the Sunday Times yesterday they would be able to reply on the alleged rewards only tomorrow as no spokesman was available.

The report also claims that South Africa has won the military war in SWA/Namibia "with overpowering advantage" — but is losing the second-

phase "psychological war" to win the hearts and minds of the local people.

The report was compiled for the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the SACBC.

The investigation -- researched and compiled by Miss Sarah Crowe, information officer of the SACBC -- was based on interviews with church leaders, politicians, members of Swapo, soldiers, teachers, missionaries, workers, nurses and others, who all preferred to remain anonymous, according to the report.

CSO: 3400/593

SOUTH AFRICA

NKOMATI IS NO EXCUSE FOR 'INTERFERENCE,' SAYS TREURNICHT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jan 85 p 16

[Text]

THE Conservative Party could not agree to the Nkomati accord being used as an excuse for "interference in Mozambique's affairs" the leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said today.

Dr. Treurnicht said South Africa must not allow itself to be "trapped into a dangerous dilemma" in its relations with Mozambique.

"Moral or active support for President Machel's re-

gime, which is both Marxist and pro-ANC, as well as support for his political opponents is totally unacceptable.

"Similarly, we dare not give our support to any organization operating in a foreign country which uses violent methods in their efforts to topple the ruling party. We cannot condone terrorism in any country.

The CP leader added if it was wrong in the past to have given moral and other support to Renamo (one of the names given to rebels fighting to topple President Machel's government). "How can it now be right to support the Marxist government of Mozambique against Renamo?

"Such behaviour is not

part of a non-aggression pact."

Meanwhile, the US deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Frank Wisner, arrived in Maputo yesterday for five days of meetings with Pres Machel and other officials.

Mr Wisner told reporters the discussions would cover "the situation in Mozambique, the security situation in the region and our bilateral relations, which have developed rapidly over the last few years."

He was scheduled today to meet Major-General Jacinto Veloso, economic affairs minister, and later in the week Foreign Minister Mr Joaquim Chissano and Mr Prakash Ratilal, governor of the Bank of Mozambique.

He is due to meet Mr Machel today.

Mozambique expelled several US diplomats in 1981 as spies, during a period of strong Soviet influence. The Marxist government, under economic pressure caused by drought and a weak economy, has gradually strenghtened its Western contacts since then.

The United States has become a major food donor and is giving limited amounts of military help. South Africa and Mozambique agreed a year ago to end support for guerrillas seeking to overthrow each other's government, but rebels in Mozambique continue to conduct attacks on road traffic and remote villages. — Sapa-AP.

CSO: 3400/593

SOUTH AFRICA

CRITICISM OF CONSCRIPTION MOUNTS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Feb 85 p 9

[Article by Andrew Beattie]

[Text]

Conscription has been a heated issue in many countries, not least South Africa.

My-country-right-or-wrong is no longer the criterion by which young conscripts can easily justify obedience to the dictates of the State.

In South Africa, especially since escalation of the Namibian conflict and the use of National Servicemen in quelling township protests, criticism of conscription has mounted, particularly from church, student and other opposition groups.

The authorities would argue that if one accepts the benefits of citizenship, one must accept the burden of military service too.

This applies to whites.

But what of other groups?

One of the most common protests during the coloured and Indian elections last year was that acceptance of the New Deal would lead to young males in these communities being called up.

The low percentage polls in these elections were interpreted by some as a rejection by these communities of being made beneficiaries of the system at the cost of having to defend it in future.

Young whites, other than bona fide religious objectors, who object to being called up

for national service either leave the country or face a jail sentence.

Some swallow their objections and report for service.

Last year the Government introduced the Religious Objectors Board to screen religious and moral objectors and to provide for alternative or community service for those whose religious beliefs stopped them from serving in the military.

This board is presided over by Mr M T Steyn and includes Defence Force representative Colonel H Bosman, an army chaplain and four representatives of church groups.

It usually sits in Bloemfontien, but can move to other areas for hearings.

Last year the board reviewed 150 cases, says board member the Rev Vivian Harris, a Methodist minister.

LAWYERS

"Almost all of these applicants were granted religious objector status," he said.

Applicants are not entitled to legal representation before the board and the board does not use lawyers.

Mr Harris said that once an applicant had put his case in writing before the board, his

call-up was suspended until the matter was adjudicated upon.

The board is empowered by statute to recognise three categories of religious objectors:

- A person prepared to do national service and wear a uniform, but not to carry arms.

Those in this group are required to do two years' service and camps thereafter.

- A person refusing to wear a uniform or carry arms.

He would be required to do three years' initial service plus three years of camps.

- A person refusing to have anything to do with the military, even as a non-combatant.

He would be required to do six years' community service.

To qualify for any of these categories, the applicant has to prove that his refusal to do service stems from a genuine and deep-seated religious belief in pacifism.

"It is not necessary that the applicant belongs to a recognised pacifist church, nor that he is even a regular church-goer," says Mr Harris.

"We have recognised the status of some applicants who originally stated that their pacifism was rooted in a moral belief, which we found to be fundamentally religious in nature."

However, he stressed that the board was empowered to

grant religious objector status to objectors only if they refused to serve in any military force, not just specifically the South African Defence Force.

Mr Harris said he had not chosen to become involved with the board but had been appointed by the Minister of Manpower.

He added that the board had been a significant success and a step in the right direction.

At its inception several large churches rejected the board outright.

They included the Roman Catholic and the Congregational Churches.

Mr Harris said the board had inadequate powers to deal with the problem of conscientious objectors as a whole.

The Catholic Church has gone so far as to discourage conscription.

BORDERS

Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, said: "In my view any conflict in the near future on our borders will be in the nature of civil conflict, with people of the same country fighting each other."

"I believe our duty is to discourage people from getting involved in this military con-

flict because of the realities of the South African situation of oppression."

Failing or refusing to report for military service is a crime in South Africa carrying a severe penalty.

This has not discouraged many young men from becoming criminals because of their beliefs.

Last year National Union of South African Students president Mr Brendan Barry publicly declared that he had resigned his rank as second lieutenant in the South African Defence Force and was no longer willing to fight for apartheid.

His action has not yet brought a response from the authorities.

Objectors to conscription on political or other grounds are prosecuted under the Defence Act and usually get stiff jail sentences.

The laws designed to discourage objectors probably owe their success to the deterrent force of the heavy penalties they carry.

Even so, groups such as the End Conscription Campaign and the Conscientious Objectors Support Group have claimed growing support on university campuses throughout the country.

SOUTH AFRICA

WAVES OF CP CONVERTS FROM NP, NP EUPHORIA OVER REFORMS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 10 Feb 85 p 12

[Article by David Breier]

[Text]

CONSERVATIVE Party organisers in the Transvaal and Free State report "thousands" of National Party members have applied for CP membership in the past two weeks in response to the latest economic and political developments.

This white backlash threatens to put a brake on reform which has accelerated since President P W Botha opened Parliament two weeks ago.

Mr Hendrik van Wyk, Transvaal secretary of the CP, said that the latest wave of converts from the NP was the biggest since the Conservatives broke away in 1982.

He said that during the past three years the CP had followed a regular cycle in which membership applications increased as "issues" arose, and then flattened out again.

But so many issues had emerged in the past two weeks that the party was now experiencing an unprecedented rush for membership.

He suggested that if the Primrose by-election, which the CP lost narrowly last November, were held now, the CP would win.

The biggest single factor was the economy, he said. The petrol price was a major issue while the impending perks tax antagonised lower income whites with State housing subsidies, he said.

Not far behind the economy were the political developments of the last two weeks, he added. These included

the proposed new deal for blacks, freezing of forced removals and the offer to free Nelson Mandela.

Mr Van Wyk said applications were still flowing into CP offices throughout the province, and party headquarters would be in a position to provide accurate statistics in a month or two.

In the Free State, the possibility that Indians might be permitted to live in the province has become the major issue.

Mr Siel Pienaar, OFS chairman of the CP and the party's candidate in the Harrismith provincial by-election on May 1, said Free Staters were "shocked" at this development.

"They were told in the referendum that Indians would not be allowed in the Free State," he said.

He predicted this would be a major issue in the Harrismith by-election as the area would be the first to be settled by Indians if the ban was lifted.

This was because a new city of 300 000 people for nearby QwaQwa was being planned and there would be business opportunities for Indians from nearby Natal.

Mr Pienaar said Free Staters were traditionally more loyal than Transvalers and were less likely to leave the NP. But once they left the party, they would stay out.

Progressive Federal Party organisers say they too are experiencing new interest in the party as voters blame the Government for the economy.

In Newton Park, Port Elizabeth, where a Parliamentary by-election will be held on May 1, PFP organiser Mr Bobby Stevenson said the recession and the depressed state of Port Elizabeth, aggravated by the Ford-Amcar merger, were major factors hurting the NP.

WHEN it comes to political reform, the sky is not merely the limit, it's the target. This is the message coming from overjoyed verligtes in the National Party caucus.

These are good times for NP verligtes as their star ascends and the latest in-word in Cape Town for reform is "open-ended".

The man-in-the-street may scratch his head and ask what President P W Botha is really up to. What is he telling his NP caucus?

Incredibly enough, he is telling them that he does not have a blueprint for black political reform. In any other country it would be crazy for a leader to say he has no definite policy. In South Africa it's called "open-ended reform".

The atmosphere of "anything goes" in the NP is now so strong that the more adventurous verligtes are even making so bold as to break yet new ground for the party.

Such an advance was made in the white chamber this week by Mr Wynand Malan (NP Randburg), who has long been in the vanguard of NP reform thinking.

In a speech that could lay the foundation for future Government dialogue with its sworn enemies, Mr Malan told the House there was wide acceptance for the view that there could be "structural violence" by the State.

Structural violence

The term "structural violence" is often used by enemies of apartheid to justify their use of violence against the State. It is being used by the ANC to explain why it refuses to lay down arms and talk.

By recognising that the Government can be perceived to perpetrate structural violence, Mr Malan could have created a new basis for dialogue with the ANC.

In an interview, Mr Malan said those who spoke of "structural violence" referred to very real issues such as the State's restriction of free movement or the right to marry.

He said the goal should be to end both structural violence and revolutionary violence. "We as the white power elite must take cognisance of the fact that others see our policy as one of violence," he said.

Mr Malan also told the House that the Afrikaner people had experienced the same structural violence when it was oppressed by the system.

He believes there is no ceiling to the current reform process — provided it observes certain limits.

The conditions that he, and other NP verligtes set, are:

- There must be effective participation by every population group and
- Groups must be given security within their own political structures;

This thinking is beginning to sound suspiciously like the Progressive Federal Party policy which states there must be no discrimination and no domination. All else is negotiable.

The difference is that the NP verligtes lay more emphasis on separate structures. The PFP makes do with less substantial guarantees such as a minority veto and a bill of rights.

The NP's new open season for reform was also described by Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal), who proposed a private member's motion calling for all to participate in the Government's reform initiatives and to avoid domination, violence and boycotts as options.

Mr Nothnagel said the debate in South Africa was open to all. The Government was not going to the negotiating table with an R-1 rifle and would permit no-one with an AK47.

The Government was not offering its little finger to the black people of South Africa, but was given its whole hand in friendship, he said.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANGER, BITTERNESS AMONG NEW MP'S OVER APARTHEID

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Feb 85 p 21

[Article by Norman West]

[Text]

AN MP and his wife try to book into a country hotel. They are refused a room because of their colour.

Another MP wants to take his children to a local cinema. An embarrassed manager turns them away.

Yet another MP and a top trade unionist cannot take a glass of wine in many of the licensed establishments in which his members and constituents work.

That is the reality of apartheid on the street for 130 coloured and Indian MPs elected to the country's Parliament last August. And it is the same reality faced by millions of other South Africans of colour.

It is this humiliation and frustration that surfaced in Parliament this week in torrents of bitter condemnation directed at white Ministers and their race policies.

Harsh

The debate underlined that it is not only rhetoric that must be changed but laws — particularly laws which Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs, in an amazing moment of frankness, admitted were discriminatory.

For the harsh truth is that, while fierce debate rages on in the tricameral Parliament over the repeal of sex laws based on race, their imminent repeal alone is unlikely to impress millions of South Africans of colour caught up daily in the tentacles of the apartheid octopus.

A small minority are caught up in "immoral" love relationships or bound

by "illegal" marriages.

The repeal of these laws — scheduled for this session — would still leave untouched millions who will continue to suffer daily humiliation in terms of scores of other racially discriminatory laws.

At the root of apartheid, any person of colour, including Indian Cabinet Minister Amichand Rajbansi and coloured Cabinet Minister Allan Hendrickse, will testify, is the Population Registration Act coupled with its stepchild, the Group Areas Act.

Acrobats

To the average white South African, and certainly for the HNP and the CP, appeals from South Africans of colour for the removal of the Group Areas Act probably only conjure up the spectre of uncontrolled influx of blacks into white areas or undesirable coloured neighbours who would be an embarrassment to their "Western and Christian" lifestyle.

Such people forget that nobody, no matter what colour, likes undesirable neighbours.

The Group Areas Act, contrary to superficial belief, does not only force people to live where Pretoria's bureaucrats arbitrarily decide they should live.

It decides the entire life pattern of brown and black South Africans from the cradle to the grave.

It decides where one should be born, where one should go to school, where one should live, which cinemas, restaurants and hotels one may attend and, more importantly, gives licence to the management of most public establishments to discriminate against people of colour at their discretion and with government protection.

The deep anger of the coloured and Indian community — reflected this week even by moderate MPs — is precisely that separate is not equal. The Group Areas Act proclamations usually include white residential areas close to the safest beaches and the choicest amenities.

For those of colour it is relegation to barren outbacks or in townships that serve as sprawling overnight dormitories largely out of sight and out of mind to whites.

When Mr de Klerk came face to face on Wednesday with the 85-member House of Representatives and his colleague, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional

Development and Planning, faced the 45-member House of Delegates, they tried all kinds of semantic acrobatics to explain the inexplicable.

But all they succeeded in doing was opening the floodgates of pent-up bitterness, frustration and anger of Indian and coloured MPs. Without exception all have suffered directly from South Africa's discriminatory laws.

On Wednesday the victims and the perpetrators of apartheid came face to face.

It was a bruising reckoning.

The hapless two white Ministers faced torrents of interjections aimed at forcing a commitment that all race laws would be scrapped this session.

Astounding

Mr de Klerk found himself with his back to the wall. In answer to a question by the MP for Schauderville, Mr Charles Redcliffe, he made the astounding admission for a Nationalist Minister that Section 16 of the Immorality Act as well as the Prohi-

bition of Mixed Marriages Act boiled down to "discriminatory legislation".

MPs in both Houses made the point loud and clear that persons of colour subjected to the daily humiliation and assaults on their dignity and integrity by being subjected to apartheid laws could not be expected to be impressed with present rhetoric.

Anything less than the actual removal of the laws from the statute books would mean that the discretion to discriminate against a fellow South African of a darker hue would be largely vested in private individuals and statutory bodies like the provincial and town councils.

There was both irony and strength in this week's debate: it took place in a racially divided Parliament. But it was the most intense and acrimonious attack on the Government's racially divisive policy by such a large number of MPs.

The coloured and Indian MPs were attacking government policy with a status theoretically equal to Mr de Klerk and Mr Heunis.

But outside of their debating rooms they face the full onslaught of apartheid laws.

Inferior

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi serve in President P W Botha's Cabinet, but outside of that rarified forum they remain subject to race laws framed by their National Party colleagues which relegate them to unmistakably inferior standing.

Mr Hendrickse will live in a coloured parliamentary village in its own group area. For Mr Rajbansi it is the same.

Neither Minister can wander down Cape Town's Adderley Street and drop into any restaurant without running the risk of being refused service.

Cape Town's central cinemas are closed to both men. If either wanted to catch a train he would have to travel in a coach marked "non-white". They could not drop into certain hotels which do not have permits to serve "non-whites".

White South Africans might find it difficult to understand the intensity of

the anger that was unleashed in Parliament this week.

It was, in fact, the reflection of the all-consuming and deep-seated hatred for these laws by communities whose souls have been corroded by the acid of South Africa's race dispensation.

The debate — searing, bitter and uncomfortable — was essential. It was a sign of some hope.

For if the sickness of racism, as David Curry described it this week, is to be cured, both sides will have to undergo the purgative therapy of talking.

Naturally, this can only form part of the therapy, nor should the working of the legislature be bogged down in interminable re-cremations. Action will be the test.

If the tricameral Parliament is to have any credibility, it will have to be seen to be killing off the octopus, not nipping at some of its tentacles, or merely describing its characteristics.

And that was the message the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives gave Mr Heunis and Mr de Klerk to take to the President.

SOUTH AFRICA

SADF NOT RELEASING NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 85 p 6

[Text]

The South African Defence Force is not prepared to release figures on the number of immigrants who became automatic South African citizens last year and who have now been called up for national service.

The SADF was replying to a series of questions from *The Star* regarding the number of immigrants called up this year and who are aged between 23 and 25.

Many immigrants have wanted to know how many young men like them had actually reported for their initial two-year call-up.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday that it was not policy to release figures and unit strengths.

For the same reason, the spokesman added, the SADF were not able to release information as to whether the January and July intakes of this year were larger than in 1984.

CSO: 3400/609

SOUTH AFRICA

FURTHER DETAILS ON ARRESTS DURING SECURITY RAIDS

MB191411 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 19 Feb 85

[Text] Reports say at least 14 people have been arrested in nationwide security police raids which started in the early hours of this morning, but police have confirmed that only six people have been taken into custody and these six will appear in court on charges of treason. James Lorimer reports.

[Lorimer] A South African police spokesman has confirmed that six people have been arrested on charges of high treason and will join the Durban treason trialists. The six are United Democratic Front [UDF] President Albertina Sisulu, National Treasurer Cassim Saloojee, Transvaal Vice President Frank Chikane and Ismael Mohamed. Also charged are unionists Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo. Reported detained are June Mlangeni, a woman activist and wife of a Robben Island prisoner and her daughter and son-in-law Sylvia and Nicolas Mkhize. Unionist Sisa Njikelane is also said to have been arrested. Two other UDF members are reported to have been arrested at Oudtshoorn in the Cape. A number of homes have been searched as have offices of the UDF and affiliates. The raids began at about 0300 this morning and a large number of books and documents have been seized.

[Announcer] Reports from the Eastern Cape say trade union leader Thozamile Gqweta has been picked up and in Johannesburg an official of the South African Council of Churches (Tom Manthatha) is also said to have been arrested. A senior UDF official has told me that his publicity secretary Terror Lekota and the general secretary of the UDF Popo Molefe have not been taken into custody.

The nationwide raids included Cape Town. Beattie Hofmeyer reports police have searched a number of offices in the city.

[Hofmeyer] Police are still busy searching the offices of the UDF and the GRASSROOTS community newspaper. Earlier literature was confiscated from the Open Books Bookshop in Observatory.

According to UDF and GRASSROOTS organisers the security police are taking large amounts of publications as well as administrative documents. GRASSROOTS Editor (Salim Badat) said the police seem to be concentrating on material related to the UDF. He said they also had a search warrant for his house. In Cape Town no one has been arrested or detained so far.

CSO: 3400/600

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

YOUTHS RIOT IN KEMPTON PARK--Kempton Park, 13 Feb (SAPA)--Rioting youths set fire to vehicles, a shop and a house in Kempton Park's Tembisa Township in sporadic incidents of unrest early today. Four lorries and three cars were set on fire at about 9 am. In other sections of the township, youths smashed the windows of a shop and a house, before setting fire to the buildings. Firemen managed to extinguish the flames before extensive damage was caused. Nobody was injured and no police action was taken. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1108 GMT 13 Feb 85]

PILOT KILLED IN JET CRASH--A South African Air Force pilot was killed yesterday when his Impala jet crashed shortly after takeoff in South-West Africa. The Impala was on a routine flight from Ondangua. Its pilot, 25-year-old Lieutenant Raymond Rodel, was unmarried. This is the third mishap within 5 days involving fighter aircraft. On Friday a Mirage F-1 of 3 Squadron, Waterkloof, was damaged when it caught fire after landing at Langebaan in Cape Town, and on Monday, a Mirage 3 from 85 Combat Flying School was damaged when it crashed at Pietersburg. The aircraft performed a near perfect wheels-up landing after the pilot had ejected. [Text] [Johannesburg Television Service in English 1400 GMT 13 Feb 85]

VIOLATIONS OF LUSAKA ACCORD--Since the signing of the Lusaka Agreement by South Africa and Angola early last year there have been 120 violations of the agreement. The Lusaka Agreement lays down, among other things, that the Angolan Government must see to it that southern Angola is free of SWAPO bases and terrorists. In return for this, South Africa would withdraw its forces to the border between South-West Africa/Namibia and Angola. A joint monitoring commission has been set up to see to it that the terms of the agreement are honored. South Africa has accepted responsibility for 3 of these 120 violations. At the weekend Angola accused South Africa of being responsible for a continued climate of war in Angola. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 5 Feb 85]

DYNAMITE FACTORY BLAST--Johannesburg, 13 Feb (SAPA)--An explosion rocked the Modderfontein dynamite factory in Kempton Park this afternoon, killing three people and injuring 23, a spokesman for AECI [African Explosives Chemical Industries] told SAPA tonight. Sabotage was not suspected, the spokesman added. The explosion occurred at 5:07 pm in the blasting

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explosives area, and by 8 pm the fire was still burning, he said. The site has been evacuated to prevent any additional injuries in the event of further explosions. "It is impossible at this stage to assess the damage." Although AECI had no idea what caused the explosion, the spokesman stressed that it was definitely not sabotage. Latest reports from the hospital on the condition of the injured described one as "critical," six as "serious," and 16 were described as having "minor injuries." The supply of explosives would not be affected by the blast, the spokesman added. [Text]
[Johannesburg SAPA in English 1809 GMT 13 Feb 85]

NORTHWEST CAPE RECOMMENDED FOR ARTILLERY RANGE--ARMSCOR [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] has recommended that the planned new long-distance artillery testing range be laid out in the vicinity of Copperton, Verneukpan, and (Grenaatboskalk) in the northwestern Cape. The deputy minister of defense, Mr (Adriaan Vlok), says in a statement issued in Cape Town that intensive surveys will be made of the region to determine the precise location of the testing range. A new testing range had become necessary because of negative reaction to the increase in testing in the vicinity of St Lucia in northern Natal. Mr (Vlok) said that it has also not been possible to conduct tests at the Overberg range in the southern Cape. The preliminary survey team comprised representatives of the departments of environment affairs and of tourism, of constitutional development and planning, of agricultural economics and water affairs, of mineral and energy affairs, and of the department of nature and environment conservation in the Cape provincial administration. [Text]
[Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 13 Feb 85]

POSSIBLE MANDELA-MATANZIMA MEETING --A meeting between Pres Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei and Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, may possibly take place in the new year. President Matanzima told DIE VOLKSBLAD that he earlier requested such a meeting with Mandela, who is his uncle. "However, he asked that we put this off to a later date. We have not yet agreed on a date," President Matanzima said. He would neither confirm nor deny that Mandela turned down an offer by him and other leaders of national states to gain the release of him (Mandela) and other political prisoners. DIE VOLKSBLAD reported on this yesterday based on a reliable source. President Matanzima said that he has been trying for years to effect the release of Mandela and other political leaders. In 1976 he made representations to the then prime minister, Mr John Vorster, and later to Mr Marais Viljoen, former state president, as well. Last year he also made a similar petition to the current state president, Mr P. W. Botha. President Matanzima said that the matter is very sensitive. It is being discussed on a high level, and for that reason he cannot disclose more details. He said that his younger brother, acting chief Ngangomahleba Matanzima, will visit Mandela before long at the Pollsmoor prison. However, this is only to discuss family affairs. [Text]
[Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 28 Dec 84 p 9] 12271

SAAF SWITCHES--SA Air Force's 40 Squadron from Waterkloof will be disbanded and merge with a squadron at Lanseria to cut costs. Port Elizabeth's Six Squadron will merge with Eight Squadron at Bloemspruit, and Seven Squadron at D.F. Malan Airport will be redeployed to Langebaanweg, on Saldanha Bay. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 19 Feb 85 p 5]

MEETINGS BANNED IN KEMPTON PARK--All meetings in the Kempton Park Magisterial District by the Congress of South African Students [CSAS], the United Democratic Front, and the Thembisa Civic Association, have been prohibited in terms of the internal security act. The ban is effective until midnight tomorrow night. Copies of the document, in which the magistrate, Mr E.J.H. (Parsons) bans the meetings, were handed by the police to about 200 people when they arrived to attend a meeting of the CSAS at Thembisa this morning. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 16 Feb 85]

CSO: 3400/600

TANZANIA

NYERERE DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT, COOPERATION, AFRICAN ISSUES

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 27 Jan 85 p 7

[Interview with President Julius Nyerere in Dar es Salaam reprinted from Oshodi (Nigeria) THE GUARDIAN; date not specified]

[Text] Q: You are one leader who is very self-critical about development since independence. For instance, speaking last year during the 20th anniversary of Tanzania, you were quoted as saying: "We are actually poorer than we were in 1962. Tanzania is neither socialist nor self-reliant. We have not reached our goal and it is not even in sight." What went wrong? Have appropriate lessons been learnt?

A: Well, first we have all the time been self-critical. I think it is proper that we should be self-critical. But sometimes the reactions from the outside world to our self-criticism makes me wonder whether we should continue being so self-critical, because they sometimes misinterpret what we are saying or even the purpose of the self-criticism.

We have objectives, and if we fail to achieve those objectives or if we feel that we could have done better, we will criticise ourselves and hope that during the next few years we can do better. But sometimes the enemies of what we are trying to do pick it up and say, you see, they themselves admit that they are not doing well.

But about this question of whether we are self-reliant or whether we are now socialist and self-reliant or not; my answer always relate to our objectives. Of course we are not socialist; and of course we are not self-reliant. It depends upon what one means by being socialist. I never expected my country was going to be socialist immediately after announcing the Arusha Declaration. Because to build socialism is a process.

In 1967 after the announcement of the Arusha Declaration there was a tremendous upsurge of support and I remember the youth marching for hundreds of miles in support of the Arusha Declaration. One of the first groups of youths to reach Dar es Salaam was a group which had walked from Tanga and they specifically asked me, "Mwalimu, how long do you think it is going to take before this country becomes socialist?"

I said perhaps thirty years. That was in 1967. Well, we have not done thirty years yet? But quite frankly, what I mean by socialism will probably take much longer to achieve.

So I say my country is not socialist. How can we be socialist when we are so backward and so poor and there is still so much inequality in our society? So clearly we are not socialist. We are not self-reliant either. We can't be self-reliant when we are still so poor, and so backward. Yet the Arusha Declaration was on socialism and self-reliance. But it was a declaration of objectives and both were challenges and what we need to do is simply to live to those challenges. The objectives are still there. Nothing went wrong.

Building socialism and self-reliance is simply a long, long process. But of course, we could have done better. We have gone through immense difficulties during the last few years. I think we did reasonably well in the first decade after the Declaration, from 1967 to 1977. I think we did very well.

Economically, it was a period of growth all the time. Socially I think we did very well for that was the period of our major achievements in the social services, education and water supply to our villages. By the end of 1977/1978 we were exporting food. There was a period we came to Nigeria to find out if we could sell rice there!

But then after the second price hike in oil, things began to be very difficult for us. Our problems began in 1978/79. They haven't ended. That is why it is not very difficult for me to say that we were poorer in 1983 than we were in 1982. For all we know we might be poorer this year than we were last year. I don't know.

But this has nothing to do with the policy of socialism and self-reliance. Many Third World countries which are by no means socialist are having similar problems. In fact in Tanzania just now there is a general feeling that perhaps the worst is over, and that things are beginning to pick up again. I'm not quite sure. But we have gone through five very difficult years, and that is understandable.

But when our critics ask that question usually they mean that socialism has gone wrong in Tanzania. The idea of self-reliance has gone wrong. It has not. It will take a long time to achieve these objectives. I think in Tanzania if one tries now to turn the country away from its objectives of socialism and self-reliance he would be in real trouble, and that itself is an achievement.

Q: Mwalimu you haven't yet found anything wrong with the development strategies you adopted since independence.

A: No.

Q: Because there is talk about moving away from socialism.

A: Yes, there is a strong desire by the anti-socialists, mainly outside Tanzania but also in Tanzania, strong desire and a great deal of wishful thinking, that we are turning away from socialism. We are doing nothing of the kind. We are not going to turn away from socialism. But naturally in the course of implementing our policy of socialism we meet a lot of obstacles and sometimes we are forced to make some retreat!

For instance, last year I think we made a kind of retreat! In a poor country like this, one of the way the state can help the very poor, especially the very poor in the urban areas, is to subsidize the prices of their staple food. And we have been doing it, virtually since independence and that has been helpful to our people.

Last year we decided to remove the subsidy. We were able to compensate the minimum wage earner. We calculated in terms of cash what the subsidy meant to a wage earner, especially the minimum wage earner. And roughly we were able to compensate him, give it back to him in cash.

But you can't do that with regard to what they call the informal sector, the self-employed who is either at the level of the minimum wage earner or something poorer. You can't do anything to compensate him. So in that respect I regret that it was a retreat. So when you are forced to do a thing like that, the wishful thinkers say that we are turning away from socialism. But we are not; we are simply facing the economic difficulties of the present.

Another example is in education, although what we did there does not give me the same problem as the removal of food subsidies. We have been providing free education, primary and secondary, virtually since independence. Actually from primary up to university. And it is one of the major achievements of the country. Because most of our people cannot afford to pay directly for the education of their children.

Last year we did something which could be regarded as a retreat; we decided to charge some fees for secondary education. We asked the parents to pay some contribution towards the expenses, food and lodging in our boarding schools. But the argument I think was quite fair and that is why ideally it doesn't cause me very much problem. We provide free primary education. But the parents themselves take the burden of feeding the children and providing them with accommodation.

When you move from there to the boarding school, the state takes over everything: Education proper, and the expenses which in the case of primary education are borne by the parents. We decided that although we will not ask the parents to take the whole burden, they must contribute.

Also in respect of day secondary schools we provide free education in the sense in which we are doing free education in primary schools. But the boys and girls will go to the schools and go back home and so the parents will really be providing the food and transport to the schools.

This is also a kind of retreat but as I said earlier it does not bother me too much. But neither of these actions means that we are turning away from socialism.

Q: Mwalimu, in what way was the removal of the subsidies in response to the International Monetary (IMF) demand. Because both I see have come up.

A: Well the IMF does ask for the removal of food subsidies, as they do ask for devaluation of the currency and a whole list of other things. To the extent that you do any of those things the IMF should be satisfied. But of course what we did was not part of a package with the IMF; and that is why we were able to compensate the wage earners. The IMF would have opposed that compensation, because in their view it would have defeated the whole purpose of removing the subsidy.

Q: Mwalimu, let us move to the regional sector. The East African Community (EAC) was formally dissolved. And now Tanzania is involved in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). What lessons can Africa learn from the EEC?

A: Well, perhaps two. One is to move cautiously in the building of unity, in the building of economic co-operation. Better to move cautiously, brick by brick, perhaps, we in building something as good as we had in West Africa, than having it breakdown and the consequent disappointments and heart-breaking. So perhaps one lesson we have learnt, if we were to begin again, would be to move slowly, step by step consolidating before taking the next step.

The second lesson we have learnt, and here I hope all the countries of SADCC would agree with me although the economists will probably not agree with me, is that African co-operation must have a political content. Poor countries, but even the old countries like EEC countries, are finding it extremely difficult to bring about maximum co-operation in the European Community, without some political objectives behind the economic co-operation.

Nation states are not companies. They are states and states are not economic entities, they are political entities and without a political dynamo inside the whole machine of economic co-operation, it is very easy to break up. This is what happened in East Africa.

If we had seen the political usefulness to Africa of the East African Community it would not have broken because the economic usefulness was quite obvious. The economic value was quite clear but politically we were naive. In a sense I believe we were too economic. And that is why I hope that in SADCC we will learn. SADCC, at present is very good. It has a political content. If we destroy that political content I don't think it will function. SADCC is not just economic.

The Frontline States are economically dominated by South Africa. But basically when they say that they want to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa the reason why they are saying that is not economic. It is political. And this makes the co-operation meaningful and cements it. Surely from a purely economic point of view it could be argued that these countries should co-operate with South Africa.

So, I hope that SADCC will learn and maintain the political ingredient of their economic co-operation. But naturally South Africa is attacking that political objective of our economic co-operation. We are being put on the defensive and we are beginning to hear apologetic whispers that this co-operation is not anti-South Africa.

But it is! It is anti-South Africa. It is economic co-operation, but it is also very much politically anti-South Africa. And it is no use being simple indeed about it. And so that political content of economic co-operation is always a necessity.

I believe that sovereign states trying to co-operate must have a political objective. At the very least they must be willing to give up some element of their sovereignty. And I believe it is also going to be true if Africa is going to move towards really meaningful co-operation.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is a political organisation. It is not an economic organisation, and if the OAU takes up the economic co-operation of Africa as a political need we might succeed. Don't separate the two. I keep on saying sovereignty. So I say perhaps we have two lessons: One move slowly because we are sovereign states and secondly, economic requires political will and therefore a political objectives.

Q: Don't you have a sense of acute frustration that over two decades after independence, there has been little or no improvement in the material condition of African peoples and that there has in fact been a regression in many cases?

A: Well, a moment ago I was saying that in our continent trying to develop economically we must not forget the politics of development. I keep saying all the time that it is not possible to separate the two; nobody does. Economic development is never separated from the politics of a country.

How can a state avoid regarding economic development as a political matter? So I say that first of all as an objective, our continent must see economic development as the next phase of our liberation. It is a political matter. The next phase of our liberation. And this means at least two things.

When Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, were struggling for the independence of our own countries, the political independence of our countries, we looked at each other as allies. The liberation movement in Tanzania and the liberation movement in Kenya and Nigeria and India felt that they were working for the same objectives.

If the date for independence was announced in Nigeria, we rejoiced in Tanganyika. If the date of independence for Ghana was announced we also celebrated. We never undermined one another. We felt Ghana's success was Tanganyika's success, was Nigeria's success, was Kenya's success. We helped one another.

One nationalist movement did not sit with the imperialist somewhere and begin back-biting or undermining another. It would have looked like treason. Why, because we perceived the struggle for political independence as one. There is

some difficulty in Africa and in the Third World generally in perceiving that we still have a struggle going on, and that it is one.

There is some wisdom in the Third World, including Africa, of each country trying to go it alone. Yet there is no way in which we can go it alone and succeed. We can't. There is really no way of each poor country liberating itself on its own. This cannot be done. I think that is first realisation.

And the second one is that if we don't agree to co-operate at least we should try to co-ordinate our separate actions. I made a remark the other day in Addis Ababa about debt. The creditor countries co-ordinate. Even when they face a poor country like Malawi, Rwanda or Tanzania, they all gang up together in Paris and lay down the conditions of repayment.

A poor country facing such a Cartel of Creditors stands no chance of a fair deal. I was simply making a simple suggestion. That a continent like Africa could demand that it sits down together with Creditors to agree upon the terms of repayment. Even then it would still be a meeting of unequals. But unity would make our weakness slightly less weak.

That remark received a lot of hostility from the Rich. They must treat the Poor Debtors, they say, case by case. I don't know what their reaction would be if I had suggested a Debtors Cartel which would treat the Creditors case by case!! Supposing the whole of the OAU were to sit down together as debtors club and call Britain alone. And then after Britain we call Belgium and after Belgium.....This naturally would have sounded preposterous.

But Rich Countries ganging up against a single poor country looks alright. Such is the World in which we live. So I urge unity in our relations with the developed world, and there is no shame in it, we should work together. There is no shame in it. Because the developed countries are working together. They don't have to. They are so powerful they don't have to. But we are so weak we must.

Q: Why is it that African states, or the Third World for that matter cannot come together in the face of all these problems?

A: I believe that it has now dawned upon us that it is a necessity. When I was referring to the first anti-colonial phase, I said that our perception of dependence was very clear to all of us. We knew that we were colonised.

So we realised that we were in the same category. We were all the same. India, Nigeria, Algeria, Tanganyika, Kenya, Ivory Coast. That was quite clear. That, I think, is why it was also quite clear that we were all allies; because of that clarity of our common state.

In the stage of neo-colonialism and total dependence on the North, there is some absurd wisdom that by distancing ourselves from one another, and drawing separately closer to the North, we shall somehow make it. Some countries don't even believe that they are dependent.

And I am saying that without a realisation that we are not free, a realisation that we are still going in phase of liberation, we will not look at unity as an instrument of liberation. Because unity is an instrument of liberation only if you see there is need to liberate yourself. But if there is no need to liberate ourselves there is no need for unity.

Q: As the Chairman of the OAU what hopes do you have that African states may eventually see the need for coming together for their own socio-economic development?

A: Well, my hope is that this realisation is gradually dawning upon us in Africa. I believe, I hope. It is a hope and a belief. We have the Lagos Plan of Action. It is a realisation that Africa has got to do something about its social and economic development. During the last three or four years we were not able to do anything.

But last year it was very clear, that there was some kind of awakening in Africa. There is an awakening about the need to turn our attention to the economic development of Africa. But there is also the feeling that we should do it together. So I am hoping that since now we are going to be discussing our economic development; and those who see it as a form of liberation are going to keep on saying so. For the item now is going to be on the agenda all the time.

Although we said this summit is going to be specifically an economic summit, I don't believe that the other summits are going to be very different. Here I think we are putting the economic item permanently on the agenda because the political item is permanently there.

We still have the problem of Namibia and the problem of South Africa. But there is going to be a realisation that this humiliation we are suffering in Southern Africa is because we are not economically strong. If we were economically strong we wouldn't have been humiliated by a bunch of racists.

I think there is now, in all the summits, the importance of economic development in Africa and co-ordinating our development and working together is going to be there. And I think it is going to be seen as a continuation of our liberation, because that organisation was intended to continue our liberation and that liberation and that liberation was never perceived to be only political.

So the economic item is now on the agenda. We are now working to prepare for that summit and I hope that that summit is going to clarify many things and set the way for the future African economic development.

Q: Talking of the future, Mwalimu, how do you see this, how do you visualise the new world economic order?

A: We are talking about many things, one item by one and sometimes a slight shift in the power position. I always look at this from a political position. The Third World is powerless. It is all those items, trade, finance, all

those items one by one. We are not getting satisfactory terms. Why? Because we don't have the power. What we want is a shift in power. Not that we hope to reverse the present power position. We cannot, for development has its own logic.

Wealth is power. The United States is the United States, you can't change it. The Soviet Union is the Soviet Union. There is a logic of development. It is there. But the logic of economic power is being supplemented now by the political will to dominate others. And you cannot deal with the will to dominate others unless there is a countervailing will not to be dominated. And this will is lacking because we are trying to be clever, or nice.

But I say that when you are struggling for liberation you cannot afford to be nice. It is struggle. Oppressors never give up without struggle and at present there is a deliberate intention by the very powerful nations in the world to dominate the weak and the weak must say no, we are not going to let you dominate us.

There is not going to be meaningful dialogue between the rich and the poor, between North and South until the North perceives that the South is very serious about its own liberation.

Q: You are quoted to have described the Nkomati Accord as a humiliation. Humiliation for who?

A: For Africa.

Q: And did Mozambique have any alternative in your opinion?

A: Well, perhaps not, I don't know. If you are fighting, and you find that you have to retreat, you retreat. And if you discover that there is no alternative to retreating, you give up a little, and dig in. But a retreat is a retreat. And you got to face it as a retreat. And Africa must face that clearly as a retreat and not pretend that it is anything else. Because if we pretend, we will not begin to dig in and fight back. We will not begin and prepare ourselves to move on.

The South Africans are now on the offensive. They plan to destabilise all the Frontline States. In a major struggle like the current struggle in Southern Africa we cannot expect that we shall win every battle. And so if a country feels the need to retreat it can do so. I could even reach some kind of accommodation with the enemy. But it is no victory. It is not something to glorify.

Perhaps Mozambique had no alternatives but to reach some kind of accommodation with South Africa; but I say we must not glory in that retreat. Perhaps we did not help Mozambique enough, that is why Mozambique was left with no alternative. Perhaps we should not try to criticise Mozambique for signing that accord. But the accord nevertheless is a major setback to Africa's liberation struggle.

That accord is not a victory for Africa. It is a victory for South Africa and her allies. Not a victory for us. This is where I am critical. I don't like this, to be seen in any other light except as a retreat. A retreat one does not have to be ashamed of. If you make a considered judgement that you can't stand and hold that position, you move back and dig in. There is no shame in that. That is what I am saying.

Q: Has South Africa been doing anything that could be said is in line with scrupulous implementation of the letter and spirit of the Nkomati Accord?

A: Nothing. Nothing. The South Africans began to break the Nkomati Accord before they signed it. During the very negotiations the South Africans pushed into Mozambique thousands of armed bandits. When challenged, they say that happened because they were not sure that the accord was going to be signed. Which means that they were not negotiating in good faith at all. So they broke it before they signed it.

But then even after signing the South Africans continued to assist the armed bandits. It is quite true, even Western countries know that, the South Africans kept supplying the bandits with arms. The Mozambicans are very good about it. At first they kept hoping that the South Africans would fulfil their part of the bargain. It is only now that they are beginning to express their misgivings.

But the Western allies of South Africa know that South Africans continued arming the bandits even after signing the accord. When I was asked why this is happening, the best explanation I have heard is that the South Africans claim, or some people claim for the South Africans, that there are two governments in South Africa.

There is the government of the two Bothas, Botha the President and Botha the Foreign Minister. That one is very much pro the Nkomati Accord and would like it to be honoured to the letter. And there is the government of Magnus Malan and the security forces. This government does not like that accord at all!

They would rather fight and defeat Samora and not make any peace with him. So it is this Second Government which continues the assistance to the armed bandits! Now this is utter rubbish. There is only one South African Government, and it does not honour and never intended to honour the Nkomati Accord. They broke it even before they signed it.

Q: How long do you think it will take before South Africa is liberated?

A: I don't know. I cannot predict. But one thing happened after the Nkomati which was very significant. South Africans used to pretend, and that Nkomati was part of that pretence, that all their troubles came from outside South Africa. And that they will have no trouble inside South Africa if only the Frontline States signed more Nkomatis with them. Because they pretend all troubles inside South Africa originate from outside South Africa, which is absolute nonsense.

Things got so hot inside South Africa after Nkomati that the South Africans decided to deploy seven thousands troops against their own citizens in the so-called Black Townships. After the Nkomati and not before. The South African regime now feel even more insecure than they were before the signing of Nkomati. That euphoria of Nkomati is gone. It is not there.

I don't know how far we are away--from the liberation of South Africa because sometimes these regimes, these fascist regimes can look very powerful, can look solid from outside, but what you see is the facade of the armed forces and the jack-boots and the police dogs. These are what we see. But inside it is being eaten, eaten up by the termites of their own brutality. I don't know how long it is going to be before it collapses.

But I don't think either Africa or the international community which is anti-apartheid should be deceived by what is going on. It may go on for another ten years, another twenty years or another thirty years, I don't know. Because sometimes when these fascist structures begin to collapse they just collapse.

What we must do is simply to go on struggling against them. Africa must intensify the struggle inside South Africa, and keep the international community constantly aware of the criminality of Apartheid.

I know. Africa has helped Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Zimbabwe until those countries became free. What did we do? We did basically two things. We were totally united and very outspoken in the demand that those countries should become free. Totally united and totally outspoken. Not like during the last three years when we did not say a thing on what was going on inside South Africa and that caused the racist regime to be more aggressive. So that was one of the things we did.

Secondly, we provided them with material support. We never fought, we never took up arms to go and fight for these countries. There was a war in Mozambique. It was waged by Mozambicans. They did the fighting. We did not fight. We provided them with the camps and the arms and training from some of our friends. They did their training in Tanzania fought in Mozambique.

This is not going to happen in case of South Africa. These countries, the Frontline States, are not going to have camps and receive recruits from South Africa and train them in Mozambique and Zimbabwe and so forth and let them go to fight in South Africa. We are not going to do this. The fighting nevertheless is going to take place.

And it will take many forms, inside South Africa. They are doing it now. But there is going to be a combination of non-violence struggle inside South Africa and a lot of armed struggle. I don't believe that independence in South Africa is going to come without a lot of blood being shed. And Africa must be prepared just as in the case of Mozambique and Angola and others to support that struggle.

Africa will not do the fighting, nor is it expected to do the fighting, but we must give them the tools. The liberation movements in South Africa as in Angola and Mozambique and elsewhere which has been forced to resort to arms must be assisted by Africa. And some countries, particularly Western countries which identify their own interests with South Africa do help South Africa militarily; the least Africa could do is to back up the freedom fighters.

Give them the means. We will not fight but give them the support they need. That is all we need to do. Because they will liberate themselves. The South Africans pretend to be another Israel. The South African situation is a totally different situation from that of Israel. Israel does not have a majority of Arabs. The South Africans have a majority of Blacks and Coloureds in the country.

They cannot dominate that majority for ever. And what we need to do is simply to support that majority in its struggle to liberate itself. We must not disappoint them. They will do their own fighting. There is now this idea that perhaps we should build a liberation army and march into South Africa. This is impractical and absurd. The South Africans will liberate themselves as the Mozambicans, Angolas and the Zimbabweans did. But they must get support. Unashamed, unashamed support.

Q: What is your attitude regarding Reagan's policy of Constructive engagement?

A: You got to give it its full title. It is constructive engagement with apartheid. Yes. And really it has got to be exposed for what it is, it is constructive engagement with apartheid. I know when I say that now I am told that it is constructive engagement with all the states in Southern Africa. This is not true.

It never was intended to be constructive engagement with Mozambique, or Zimbabwe and Angola. It is constructive engagement with apartheid, because the idea was that you will not get the racist to change unless you are nice to them. And I am saying why? Why South Africans are racists. They have a regime which is unique in the world. There is no other government in the whole world which has a philosophy of racism as the basis of its own policy. None.

In the United States there is discrimination against Blacks; Britain has discrimination against Blacks. There is some racial prejudice possibly in every country, including Tanzania. But the Governments of those countries discourage racial prejudice and legislate against racial discrimination. Only South Africa justifies Apartheid philosophically and theologically and so makes it the basis of its policy. South Africa is unique.

The nearest thing you could have to South Africa was Nazi Germany. This year these people are going to be celebrating the 40th anniversary of winning the war against Hitler. But conveniently, the advocates of constructive engagement with apartheid forget that the leaders of apartheid who were adults

during World War Two, the leaders of the Nationalist Party of these Bothas and Malans supported the killing of Jews. Many of them were locked up during the war, because they opposed this War against Hitler. They were in detention during the whole period of the war after which, of course, they won in 1948 and they are still there.

All this is being conveniently forgotten by the advocates of constructive engagement. What would Reagan have thought of constructive engagement with Hitler? What would the Europeans have thought of a policy by major power like the United States of constructive engagement with Nazism? They would have called it worse than appeasement.

And why then are we expected to welcome a policy of constructive engagement with apartheid? It is an immoral policy within an immoral regime. How should we welcome this? I hope that Africa will see the policy of constructive engagement for what it is. And I'm glad that many people in the United States are waking up to this policy and are now beginning to voice their opposition to it.

Many people in the United States are saying this is wrong. This is very important. And I hope you will continue exposing the real nature of this policy, because we must not send the wrong signals to Washington and the rest of the world about what we believe is going on in South Africa.

Q: Would you support some kind of a marshal plan for Africa given the prevailing economic problems in the Continent?

A: Yes, I would support it. I think the first person to raise it was the former Chancellor Kreisky of Austria. He recalled the importance of the Marshall Plan to the recovery of Western Europe after World War II. Europe had developed its own advanced technology, but the countries had been destroyed by war. Had it not been for the support they got from the Americans they would not have recovered as quickly as they did. But Africa's position is worse, he said that Europe's position after the War; for Africa lacks the technical and managerial expertise that Europe had.

Africa needs to acquire this expertise, but in addition Africa needs to invest heavily in developing its basic economic infrastructure. And I did support this idea, and in particular in developing the infrastructure. But Kreisky's idea was not supported by the Rich North. Yet the need to develop Africa's infrastructure remains absolutely basic to our future development. But America's Marshal Plan for Europe had also a political and strategic objective!

Q: There is generally a feeling in Nigeria that you have some reservations on the present military government, a feeling that you have somehow had a lukewarm posture on the government. What is your attitude?

A: Yes, I got that feeling. I got the feeling that perhaps, we were lukewarm towards the new Government in Nigeria. I don't know whether they still hold that but I did get the impression that they did so at one time. I think this

was a result of my expressing myself frankly about the coup to the Government envoy to Tanzania. Nigeria is a big country. When a coup like that takes place in Nigeria we feel it.

Nigeria is Nigeria. Obviously Nigerians know better what is good for their country. Nigeria had been under a military rule before: We had worked extremely well with the military leaders. The first time I felt Nigeria was flexing its muscles on behalf of Africa was under Murtala Mohamed.

In January 1975 we called an extraordinary meeting of the OAU in Addis Ababa, because we had the problem of the recognition of the MPLA Government in Angola. The South Africans were attacking the MPLA Government in Angola. And the then United States President Gerald Ford was supporting them. He wrote to us, I think all the heads of Africa governments before the summit, telling us that the United States could not accept the interference by the Soviet Union in an area 4,000 miles away from its traditional sphere of influence or some words to that effect.

They regarded the MPLA Government as a creature of the Soviet Union. I think they still do so! Those were the circumstances which made us go to Addis Ababa. The MPLA had been fighting for independence of their own country for 14 years. The South Africans and the Americans were now trying to prevent them from taking over. Because of this pressure from the United States, Africa found itself divided fifty-fifty about recognising the MPLA Government.

Even revolutionary Ethiopia did not recognise the MPLA Government. We couldn't get 23 countries and the admission is by simple majority, but we couldn't get that figure. But fortunately for those who recognised the MPLA Government Nigeria was with them. That made a major difference. When Murtala was killed and Obasanjo succeeded him, we continued to work together very closely on Southern Africa, but especially Zimbabwe.

So I explained that we have worked well with military Governments in Nigeria, and expressed my hope that we would work closely with this one too. But the Military had voluntarily handed over power to a Civilian Government, and I explained why I had hoped that Nigeria would continue with a Civilian Government. Nigeria had formulated a very difficult constitution. And we thought that Shagari did try for four years to work that constitution.

The elections took place; he won and it appeared to us that the results had been accepted by Nigerians. We were happy for Nigerian democracy and I was looking forward to President Shagari's State Visit to Tanzania. I had invited him to be our Guest of Honour for our Union Day. Then the coup took place. So I asked the envoy, did you expect us to welcome the coup with enthusiasm? I said if I were to say that your Government should never trust us! For we were honestly looking forward to a Nigeria developing democratically and you had done a four year term and another had just started.

And so this coup was a shock to us. But that does not mean we will not work with the Nigeria government. That is what I said. So I think it was this explanation which made some people to think that we were lukewarm about that

government. I really don't think my friends should expect me to welcome coups automatically. I don't. Generally I don't welcome coups. After all a coup is a coup, a coup is not a revolution.

You can never be sure whether a coup has been carried out in the interests of the people. Many coups are carried out against the people. We have to make a judgement about each situation and reasons of the coups and the characters of the people taking over power and what they are doing with that power.

But generally I'm not a supporter of coups. There is no reason why I should be an automatic supporter of coups. I believe in democracy. We may differ about our definition of democracy. That debate is alright. But we cannot differ very much about the need for the population to have a say in who is to lead them in the struggle for liberation.

I hope my friends can understand that even the very best soldiers, will find it difficult to mobilize the people for their development. You cannot develop a Third World country without a tremendous involvement of the people. An army cannot mobilise the people. It is very difficult, because it has its own system. An army can impose discipline, but mobilisation of the people is a function of a political party. And you can't avoid it.

Q: Apparently this is your last term in office. Is it possible for the people of Tanzania to persuade you to change your mind and go for another Presidential term and if you don't change your mind do you think it will be possible to have a smooth succession?

A: Well, philosophically it is possible. But one is really talking politically. I have been leading my country for a long time. If I were to stand again this year people who were born many years after our independence would vote for me--or against me! In fairness to the people of Tanzania, I think the decision to step down should be mine. How can the people of Tanzania sit down and ask me to step down?

If I decided to go on the chances are that they would let me go on. And so I think it is fair, if one wants to stop looking to the past and give the country a chance to look to the future, it is fair that my decision to step down should be firm and final.

My duty to my country now is to help it through the transition to a new leadership. It is not my duty to perpetuate the question: What happens when Mwalimu goes? And I think that I have earned the right to make that decision. I believe it is the right decision for my country and so do not propose to change it.

Difficulties? I don't envisage too many difficulties, apart from the fear of transition. The Party is strong. I think we can sit down rationally and choose a candidate to recommend to the country as the next Head of State. Our electoral system is well tried. There is no reason why the election should not be smooth.

Candidate we have. Obviously if something was to happen to me now the country would have to find a new Head of State. He is here amongst us. There must be someone. And I keep saying that it is much better that we should carry out this transition together.

By the end of this year I will have been President of my country for the 23 years. That is nearly a quarter of a century; it is not a small period. So I feel my duty now is to help the country to get a new leadership and begin to retreat.

Q: What is your intention after the expiry of your term as a Party Chairman in 1987?

A: First, I think the Party does not want me to be as definite about 1987 as I'm about 1985. Nevertheless I have expressed my views to the Party that ideally I would like to step down in 1987, because we have accepted the wisdom of combining the office of Head of State and that of Chairman of the Party. That combination is important for the stability of our country. It is not required by the Constitution, we are trying to establish it only as a convention; and that is why this year I can step down as Head of State but remain as Chairman of the Party.

CSO: 3400/588

TANZANIA

NYERERE APPEALS FOR AID FOR AFRICA

EA151926 Dar es Salaam External Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Dar es Salaam--For the second time within 4 days the chairman of the OAU, Mwalimu Nyerere, has again appealed for emergency international food aid for famine stricken African countries. Besides Ethiopia, he has mentioned Angola, Burkina Faso and Mozambique as other African countries which needed emergency food aid.

Mwalimu was speaking at his Msasani residence in Dar es Salaam when he met ambassadors from Nordic countries, the Soviet Union and representatives of the UN agencies based in Dar es Salaam. He is expected to make a similar appeal tomorrow when he meets ambassadors from the socialist bloc.

He said Mozambique was facing a serious problem of floods. The southern part of the country devastated by drought for the past 4 years was now threatened by floods, and that food supplies were needed for the affected people because their crops will be destroyed.

On Angola the OAU chairman said they have shortages of food because of the war in the south and drought in some areas of the country.

Mwalimu repeated his Tuesday's (12 February) appeal for international food aid for Burkina Faso. He said the country needed between 163,000 and 250,000 metric tons.

Mwalimu recalled his Wednesday's (13 February) warning during an interview with a Kenya-based film company that food aid was not the real answer to the famine problem in Africa. He reiterated that the permanent solution to the problem is to help the peasants in the rural areas to produce enough food.

CSO: 3400/610

ZIMBABWE

MISSION TO SEEK EXPORT TRADE WITH UGANDA

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 Jan 85 "Business Herald" Supplement p 9

[Text] REPRESENTATIVES of 20 companies leave Harare next week on the first Zimbabwean trade mission to Uganda, the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce's export promotion consultant, Mr Richard Hess, said this week.

Organised by the ZNCC and the Ugandan National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the mission will be partly financed by the funds set aside by the World Bank for export promotion. The first such mission visited Mauritius and Reunion last year.

"The response has been very good and all the companies will be taking samples of their products with them for a mini-exhibition in Kampala while we are there," said Mr Hess.

The mission is a follow-up to a market survey conducted by Mr Hess in Uganda last year, which found that Uganda "was a wide-open market requiring a wide range of products and with the money to pay for them".

The companies taking part in the mission make everything from agricultural implements to food, wine, cigarettes, textiles, knitting yarns, industrial fabrics, medical equipment, electricity cables, electric goods, cast metal products, building material, hardware, clothing, shoes, cosmetics, copper products and packaging materials. They are based in Kwekwe.

The mission will leave on February 9 and return on February 15.

CSO: 3400/570

ZIMBABWE

GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS ALLOCATING MORE FOREIGN CURRENCY TO FARMERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 26 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] THE Government may consider allocating more foreign currency to the agricultural sector because the sector generates much of it for the country, the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, said yesterday.

Answering questions from commercial farmers at Ruzawi Farmers' Club near Marondera, Cde Mugabe said it was important for industry and commerce not to forget the reason why foreign currency allocation cuts were introduced in the first place.

"We were not doing well in our economy in past years, because of a number of reasons I am sure you are well acquainted with. Though the position is improving, some sectors; particularly the manufacturing sector, are not doing well.

"So in view of the then prevailing economic situation we decided to share the small piece of cake we had. However, we will consider allocating more foreign currency to the agricultural sector because of their numerous requirements and the fact that they generate much of it."

Irrigation

Cde Mugabe also told the gathering that the Government would launch a national irrigation fund to enable communal, small-scale and commercial farmers to develop their irrigation schemes.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the only meaningful measure to alleviate future droughts is through development of water storage facilities," he said.

"The national irrigation fund will be available to enable all our farmers--communal, small-scale and large-scale commercial--to develop irrigation schemes."

He commended the nation's farmers for taking advantage of the current good rains to work their land to the full and applauded their performance which he said showed initiative and hard work.

The Prime Minister stressed the need for good relations between commercial, communal and resettlement farmers, which he said must be deepened to ensure that good farming methods were exchanged.

"I should add that our communal farmers are in the great majority of cases very keen to learn new methods of husbandry, especially where it is demonstrated to them practically that there are real benefits to be derived from the adoption of such methods.

"I am informed that Marondera West intensive conservation area (ICA) has done a lot of work in trying to improve cattle management among the Chiota farmers, while Wenimbi ICA has assisted resettlement schemes in crop and livestock production."

Cde Mugabe assured the farmers that while they had problems with illegal occupation of private farmland and streambank cultivation, the Government was working hard to curb these practices.

Cde Mugabe said the farmers' efforts must coincide with the Government's to promote the national economy. "Stay where you are and we will give you encouragement, but if you have spare land, please let us have it for resettlement."

The Government would not tolerate absentee farmers and would not hesitate to take over their farms and make it national land.

Asked whether the Government would nationalise farms it wanted for resettlement after establishing socialism, Cde Mugabe said the right of the individual to his property would be respected and farms would be negotiated only on a willing-seller and willing-buyer basis.

"We are not digging a grave for our Constitution and any amendments made to sections of the Constitution will not overthrow it," he assured the farmers.

On resettlement, he said: "We would rather the peasants be resettled on a co-operative basis."

CSO: 3400/569

ZIMBABWE

TECHNICAL COLLEGES GET \$2.3 MILLION BOOST

Harare THE HERALD in English 26 Jan 85 p 1

[Text]

THOSE lecturers' posts in technical colleges frozen by the Government last year due to lack of funds will be filled soon when the Manpower Development and Training Authority gives \$2.3 million to the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare for salaries.

The minister, Dr Frederick Shava, said in Harare yesterday that Mandata had agreed to release the funds to fill the increasing training requirements needed in technical and vocational colleges.

Speaking when he launched a scheme for the training of technical instructors at the Harare Polytechnic, Cde Shava appealed to all Zimbabwean artisans, technicians and other professionals to seriously con-

sider teaching as a career.

The ministry's institutional training infrastructure was being expanded, particularly with the urgent problem of school-leavers which last year alone was nearly 80 000 students.

Cde Shava said unattractive conditions of service, which had hampered the training programme, were under review as the Government had directed that everything possible be done to expand training, particularly for school-leavers.

It had also been decided that institutions should operate throughout the year, doing away with terms, to accelerate training.

The Government was also looking for employers who were capable of taking more apprentices than their normal intake.

CSO: 3400/569

ZIMBABWE

MASSIVE CITIZENSHIP DRIVE

Harare THE HERALD in English 29 Jan 85 p 1

[Text]

MORE than 3 000 people are expected to be sworn-in as citizens in Harare in the next three days and thousands more will take the oath throughout the rest of the country in the greatest citizenship exercise in Zimbabwe's history.

A spokesman for the Registrar-General's Office announced yesterday the special provisions that will allow thousands of people who have settled in Zimbabwe for many years to beat the Thursday deadline for registration on the voters' roll.

The special provisions apply to those who applied at the citizenship offices at Market Square and the Drill Hall in Harare.

Those who have been told in writing that they have been granted citizenship should go to the office they applied at today, tomorrow or Thursday to take the oath of loyalty.

Those who have yet to receive their letters should go tomorrow and Thursday and they will be sworn-in. Everyone going to be sworn-in

should take their national registration card and the \$1 fee for the citizenship certificate.

Most of those applying for citizenship immigrated from Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia years ago to work on farms and mines and settled, often marrying Zimbabweans.

The old Citizenship Act made it very difficult, if not impossible, for people to register as citizens unless they were fluent in English. The new Act basically requires five years' residence and the applicant to be law-abiding.

The Market Square and Drill Hall offices will be open from 7.45 am to 4.30 pm. The spokesman said designated offices in the Registrar-General's Office were empowered to administer the oath and that potential citizens could take the oath in batches of 10.

The thousands of new Zimbabweans will then be able to register as voters and help choose their Government in the forthcoming elections.

CSO: 3400/569

ZIMBABWE

HARARE COUNCIL LAUNCHES WAR ON FRAUD

Harare THE HERALD in English 29 Jan 85 p 1

[Text]

HARARE City Council is to spend over \$103 000 on salaries for extra staff to fight an increase in fraud and theft within the municipality.

The decision was made last week when the council debated the minutes of its finance and general purposes committee.

The minutes indicated that some recent municipal fraud cases could have been exposed in their early stages had regular audits been carried out.

The council agreed that \$103 485 be spent in 1984/85 to cover salaries of additional staff, including senior accountants, to investigate frauds and thefts.

Clr Tozvrambirani Mutsiyarira said the council should stamp out fraud and theft and the culprits handed over to the police. He said some areas had not been covered by audits and this new expenditure on additional accountants would save council funds.

The increase in the fraud cases was attributed to the increased volume

of work for municipal audit teams. Clr Tony Gara told the meeting that some fraud cases had been discovered only after the offenders had left the municipality.

New housing developments in Glen View, Warren Park, Warren D, Dzivarerekwa and Kuwadzana justified the addition of more accountants and there was need to make provision for Epworth development, the council decided.

The committee recommended that if proper audits were maintained they could "bring immense financial benefit to the council".

Each audit team would have a professional as head with experienced assistants. Recent experiences had shown that there was a need to have senior officers to guide and train employees in the sections and to review their output.

But Clr A. J. Wilkins felt fraud within the municipality should not be made public through the Press as it was a staff matter.

CSO: 3400/569

ZIMBABWE

GOVERNMENT PLANS DRIVE TO BOOST RURAL INVESTMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Jan 85 p 3

[Text]

THE Government has drafted proposals to encourage industrialists to invest in the rural areas, the assistant secretary for industry and technology, Ode Ebenezer Mudede, said yesterday.

He told a four-day conference on rural industries and growth points in Harare that a report on research conducted by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation in 1983 urged the Government to set up district and rural service centres to provide premises for small-scale industries.

He said the development of small-scale rural industries demanded incentives which had to be relevant to each region so that the less developed received the strongest incentives.

The incentives could include:

- Tax exemption;
- Interest-free loans or reduced borrowing interest rates;
- Provision of favourable foreign exchange allocations.
- The establishment of institutions on appropriate technology.

Ode Mudede said the main problems affecting the development of small-scale industries in the rural areas included management and marketing activities, financing, foreign exchange allocations, general and industrial infrastructure and technical skills, among others.

The development of such industries was important because it created employment and raised incomes and the general standard of living in the communal areas.

The workshop has been jointly organised by the University of Zimbabwe's department of rural and urban planning and the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague.

More than 70 delegates are participating from West Germany, Austria, Kenya, Zambia, Holland, Tanzania, Botswana and Malawi.

CSO: 3400/569

ZIMBABWE

MINORITY PARTIES AGAINST LABOR BILL

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] THE Independent group of white MPs yesterday joined forces with the Conservative Alliance in a battle to stop the passage of the Labour Relations Bill, and vowed to divide the Assembly on various clauses.

Some of their sentiments were echoed by several Zapu MPs who singled out what they called "shortcomings, inconsistencies and contradictions" contained in the Bill.

Mr Esmond Micklem (Ind., Northern) said the 81 pages of the Bill were a "complication" and that the Bill was "completely discriminatory" against employers.

He said he believed that the labour position was not a political party issue, and urged the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Cde Frederick Shava, to withhold the passage of the Bill until after the next Parliament.

The leader of the Independents, Mr Bill Irvine, described the Bill as a "draconian" piece of legislation which was "badly conceived and badly drafted".

He charged that the minister had paid "scant regard" to representations made to him by various people.

The independents did not support the Bill and would call for the division of the Assembly on "various clauses we take exception of".

Cde Edward Ndlovu (Zapu, Mat. South) charged that the Bill was an embarrassment in that it was detrimental to labour relations, "clearly the opposite of what it was meant for".

Fellow Zapu MP Cde Sidney Malunga (Mat. North) criticised the Bill for being contradictory in encouraging the consolidation of trade union movement when at the same time it "undermines the whole concept".

1945-1946
1947-1948
Mr Jock Kay (Ind., Makoni) said the Bill gave employees and minor officials "great power" which they were likely to abuse. He also regretted that the Bill contained nothing which could be expected of the employee and warned that this could lead to a situation where the "tail wags the dog".

Besides encouraging employees to be unproductive, charged CAZ MP for Borrowdale Brigadier John Probert, the Bill was dictatorial and disenfranchised the employer. "Is this socialism in practice, because if it is we can do without it."

Ministerial reply to the members' responses is expected today.

CSO: 3400/570

ZIMBABWE

EGYPT TO IMPORT LARGE QUANTITIES OF CORNED BEEF

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 Jan 85 "Business Herald" Supplement p 9

[Text] SAMPLES of Zimbabwean corned beef have been accepted by Egyptian health authorities, clearing the way for the export of large quantities to that country, Egyptian sources confirmed this week.

Mr Kamel Shehata, the Harare manager of Egypt's recently registered El Nasr trading organisation--acting as the agents--said discussions on prices were now underway with the local suppliers, Lemco Zimbabwe Ltd.

Said Mr Shehata: "If we agree on the prices, then Egypt is going to buy very large quantities of corned beef."

El Nasr's office was registered in Zimbabwe as a foreign trading company late last year.

Mr Shehata said Egypt's population of about 47 million made it a huge market for beef and the country was importing beef from countries such as Brazil and Australia.

El Nasr had also approached the Cold Storage Commission for more imports of beef (not corned) but a letter from the CSC shown to Business Herald said CSC could not meet the export demand for such a "magnitude" because of its limited export capacity.

Egypt was also interested in importing Zimbabwe tea and some samples from the Eastern Highlands Tea Estates company were on their way to Egypt for testing, he said.

"Egypt has also announced its intention to import about 20 000 tonnes of re-fined sugar every month but regrettably," he said, "Zimbabwe's refined sugar is for domestic consumption only." El Nasr had also contacted the local coffee industry about its intention to buy Arabic coffee beans.

Interest in exporting to Egypt has slowly grown since El Nasr opened an office in the capital. One company, Baringa Ltd has sent samples of cotton baling ties which are now being tested in Cairo. Egypt is a major cotton grower.

"El Nasr is now an agent for four Zimbabwe tobacco companies and we hope to make business transactions for these companies either in Egypt or in other countries through our branches."

Although the major exports of the two countries were similar, Mr Shehata said Egypt could export petroleum and products such as urea fertilisers, rice and table salt to Zimbabwe.

"El Nasr is nevertheless trying to promote Zimbabwean products in Egypt and also to other African countries where we have branches."

He said although there may have been some initial problems when trying to do business together because of different systems used in each country, these were being overcome and firm orders for exports could be realised in the next two to three months.

CSO: 3400/570

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS RECRUIT BULGARIANS--HARARE City Council has nominated the City Electrical Engineer, Mr Bruce Moore, and the acting distribution engineer, Mr Barry Chadothe, to fly to Sofia, Bulgaria to interview suitable engineers for secondment to the engineering department. The council approved the nominations last week, and the two officials will leave once the Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore, approves the trip. Mr Moore has received confirmation from the Bulgarian Embassy that Technoimplex in Sofia is ready to receive two specialists from Harare to interview the engineers who have already been lined up to work in Zimbabwe. The council has a critical shortage of engineers and its efforts to recruit in India have not been successful. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Jan 85 p 5]

CSO: 3400/569

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